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NUMBER ONE

THE LOHANS AND A BRIDGE TO HEAVEN

By  
WEN FONG



PUBLICATION 4305

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1938

### FREER GALLERY OF ART OCCASIONAL PAPERS

The Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, published from time to time, present material pertaining to the cultures represented in the Freer Collection, prepared by members of the Gallery staff. Articles dealing with objects in the Freer Collection and involving original research in Near Eastern or Far Eastern language sources by scholars not associated with the Gallery may be considered for publication.

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TO CONNIE

THE LOHANS AND A BRIDGE TO HEAVEN

by  
Wen Fong

ERRATA

Page

- xii. S. L. Yang should read "L. S. Yang."
6. Second paragraph: last sentence should read "...  
Chou centers the point of his brush..."
48. Sūtra on inviting Pindola, the first character 請  
should be 請
48. Tsukamoto Senryū should read "Tsukamoto Zenryū."
51. No. 8: should read "Prepared by E. F. Fenollosa."
59. Under Chavannes, the last word of the last entry  
should read "Yue."

ADDENDUM

10. After paragraph 2: Although Wang Wei's Hua Hsüeh Pi Chüeh is commonly regarded as a forged text (see editorial note in Mei Shu Ts'ung Shu, Shanghai, 1928, III, 9, 1, and Yü Shao-sung in Shu Hua Shu Lu Chieh T'i, Peiping, 1931), there is little doubt that this "canon of proportion" was clearly understood by Chinese landscape painters of late T'ang and early Sung periods. O. Sirén writes (The Chinese on the Art of Painting, Peiping, 1936, p. 30): "The essay in its present form was hardly written until three or four hundred years after Wang Wei, and even though it may contain certain traditional elements of method or composition ultimately derived from the art of Wang Wei, it seems more closely related to landscape painting of the Northern Sung than of the T'ang period."

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

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FREER GALLERY OF ART  
OCCASIONAL PAPERS

VOLUME THREE

NUMBER ONE

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THE LOHANS AND A BRIDGE TO HEAVEN

*By*  
WEN FONG



PUBLICATION 4305

Freer Gallery of Art  
Washington, D. C.

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## FOREWORD

On November 1, 1954, Mr. Wen Fong visited the Freer Gallery of Art to study certain Buddhist paintings in our collections. It was of great interest to us, and not a little surprise, when he positively identified two of them as having come from a well-known Chinese set formerly owned by the Daitoku temple in Japan. Much impressed with the work that he had already done on this set, we asked Mr. Fong if he would prepare an Occasional Paper on the subject, and his interesting study is what follows. It is, we believe, an important piece of research in Chinese Buddhist painting.

A. G. WENLEY

*Director, Freer Gallery of Art*

Washington, D. C.

June 20, 1957



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## ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'École française d'extrême orient, Hanoi.
ch.	chüan.
comp.	compiled.
JA	Journal Asiatique.
Lotus	<i>Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra</i> . Trans. by H. Kern, Oxford, 1884.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
Nanjiō	B. Nanjiō, <i>A catalogue of the Chinese tripitaka</i> . Oxford, 1803.
OA	Oriental Art.
OZ	Ostasiatische Zeitschrift.
SBE	Sacred books of the east. Oxford, 1879-1910.
Taishō	Taishō-daizokiyō, edited by J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe. Tōkyō, 1924-1929.
TASJ	Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan.
TP	T'oung pao.
Trans.	Translated.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present paper was developed from a lecture delivered on March 30, 1955, at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Far Eastern Association held in Washington, D. C. My subject, which deals with two newly identified paintings in the Freer Collection, was appropriate for the occasion, since the History of Art section of that meeting took place in the auditorium of the Freer Gallery of Art. It was my hope, at the time, that the paper when finished might appear in one of the Freer publications. I was deeply gratified, therefore, when Mr. Archibald G. Wenley, the Director of the Gallery, granted me the honor of publishing these paintings as one of the *Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers*.

My work, however, would not have been possible without the help I received from Messrs. K. Tomita and R. T. Paine of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts during the summer of 1954, when I was investigating the problem of the five hundred "Daitokuji" lohans in general, and the ten "Daitokuji" lohan paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts in particular. I am grateful to Mr. Tomita for his continued interest, and for the excellent photographic details from the paintings at the Boston Museum. I also wish to express my deep appreciation to Mr. Paine, who not only called my attention to the existence of the first group of copies made by Morimoto Kōchō in 1888, but also permitted me to reproduce two of them from his personal copy of the album. In addition, I should like to thank Dr. K. M. Chiu, the Librarian of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, Mr. Zenvair Yue, the Associate Librarian of the same Institute, and the staff of the Rubel Asiatic Bureau of the Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge for the prompt and patient assistance they have rendered during the past two years. I am further indebted to Mr. H. C. Wang of Tōkyō, who has supplied me with the information concerning the present disposition of the "Daitokuji" paintings. According to a letter

from Mr. Wang dated October 17, 1954, some of the "Daitokuji" paintings of lohans are now kept in the Kyōto and Nara museums.

Special thanks are due Professors D. R. Coffin and J. R. Martin, my colleagues at Princeton, and Professors S. L. Yang and K. S. Ch'en of Harvard University for reading my manuscript and making valuable suggestions. Last but not least, I wish to thank Professor G. Rowley, my teacher at Princeton, for the use of the negatives, which he brought back from Japan after a visit in 1935, and still more for his stimulating criticism throughout the years on matters of style in the study of Chinese painting.

In the Freer Gallery of Art nearly everyone has contributed in one way or another to the completion of this manuscript. James F. Cahill, Assistant in Chinese Art, has checked the characters in the manuscript and in the proof; the photographs of the paintings at the Freer Gallery are the skillful work of Messrs. B. A. Stubbs and R. A. Schwartz; and the index and bibliography of this paper were prepared with the assistance of Mrs. Bertha M. Usilton, Librarian. The final version of the manuscript was typed by Sidonie Heflin. To them I also owe a debt of gratitude.

W. F.

Princeton University

October 1956

THE LOHANS AND A BRIDGE TO HEAVEN

By WEN FONG



# THE LOHANS AND A BRIDGE TO HEAVEN

By WEN FONG

## INTRODUCTION: TWO PICTURES AT THE FREER GALLERY OF ART

A few days before Thanksgiving 1954, in the storage room of the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., Director Archibald Wenley, the author, and Mr. B. A. Stubbs, Assistant to the Director, bore witness to the recovery of two faded inscriptions from two Chinese paintings on silk hangings in the Freer Collection (pls. 1 and 2).<sup>1</sup> As the inscriptions were in gold, which had fallen off from wear, they had become all but invisible in natural lighting. Under ultraviolet light, however, the first inscription, consisting of fifty-six characters placed in one straight line along the right border of plate 1, appears to be completely intact (pl. 3, left). It reads:<sup>2</sup>

翔鳳鄉 滄門里北 滄下保居住 願 椿年妻 孫 廿八娘  
合家等 施財畫此入惠安院 常住供養 功德保安家眷  
戊戌 淳熙五年 幹僧 義紹題 周季常筆

<sup>1</sup> No. 07.139, silk panel, 1.094 x .524; No. 02.224, silk panel, 1.118 x .531. Both paintings have been repaired and retouched.

<sup>2</sup> According to the local gazetteer, *Ning-p'o-fu-chih*, the modern village of Hsiang-fêng, is located about 35 *li* southeast of the city of Ning-p'o in the eastern coastal province of Chê-chiang. The village borders the Lake Tung-ch'ien and possesses four of its dikes for irrigation (see 58, *ch.* VII, fol. 23v). The village was inhabited throughout the centuries by the Ku clan, of which the family of Ku Ch'un-nien mentioned in the above inscription was one member. A document mentions a certain Ku Yung-chih as the village elder who was entrusted with the distribution of some new farm land in the year A.D. 1227 (*ibid.*, *ch.* VII, fol. 12v).

The Hui-an-yüan, according to the gazetteer *Ch'in-hsien-chih*, is the modern Ch'ing-shan-szü, located about 40 *li* southeast of Ning-p'o, or less than 5 *li* away from the village of Hsiang-fêng. It was first built in A.D. 938 and was named Hui-an by Imperial Decree in A.D. 1010. According to a legend, on the day of *chung-yüan* (the fifteenth day of the seventh moon) in the first year of T'ien-yu (A.D. 904), the apparitions of sixteen monks (lohans, Buddhist saints) were seen above the hill. Thus the temple was also known as the "Lo-han-yüan," or chapel of lohans (14, *ch.* LXVII, fol. 6v).

"Living in the village of Hsiang-fêng, to the north of the Ts'ang-mên-li, within the ten families at Ts'ang-hsia, Ku Ch'un-nien's wife, Sun-nien-pa-niang (nee twenty-eighth maiden of the Sun family), and the whole family, etc. gave the money to paint this, [so that it may be] dedicated in the Hui-an-yüan to receive permanent offerings. The merits [from this] will go to the blessing and protection of the members of the family.

"*Wu-shu* (the cycle), Chun-hsi (the reign), the fifth year (A. D. 1178), the governing abbot I-shao wrote. [The painting] was the brushwork of Chou Chi-ch'ang."

The second inscription, found in the lower corner of plate 2, has lost many characters. Luckily, both the date and the signature are preserved, with the latter showing the name of a second artist. From this inscription (pl. 3, right), we find the following information:<sup>3</sup>

豐(?)【樂】【鄉】 故(?)【于】【里】 □□□□將仕郎陳景□妻□  
十四娘【施】財畫此入惠安院 常住供養 功德□妻□□  
【戊】【戌】【淳】熙五年 幹僧 義紹題 林庭桂筆

"Living in the village of [Fêng-lo], in the [Ku-yü-li] [. . .], *chiang-shih-lang* (the official rank) Ch'ên Ching-[.]'s wife [.]'-shih-szū-niang (nee fourteenth maiden of her family) gave the money to paint this, [so that it may be] dedicated in the Hui-an-yüan to receive permanent offerings. The merits [. . .] wife [. . .]

"[*Wu-shu*], [Chun]-hsi (the reign), the fifth year (A. D. 1178), the governing abbot I-shao wrote. [The painting] was the brushwork of Lin T'ing-kuei."

Each of these pictures shows six monkish figures in landscape settings. The robes of the figures are colored in deep reds, blue-greens, and yellows, while the backgrounds are modeled in black ink with only a light coat of green, blue, and brown

<sup>3</sup> A similar inscription mentioning the village of Fêng-lo and the Ku-yü-li is found on a picture in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Reg. No. 95.3 (84, pl. 78). See below, footnotes 6 and 8.

The Fêng-lo village is a neighboring village of Hsiang-fêng. It is about 43 li to the southeast of the city (58, *ch.* 7, fol. 17v).

designating the colors of rocks, leaves, and tree trunks. The picture by Chou Chi-ch'ang represents a perilous rock bridge which spans a deep valley in front of an enormous waterfall. A little monk stands petrified on the bridge, while five other figures standing on clouds observe the scene. The picture by Lin T'ing-kuei shows the figures washing and drying clothes by a mountain stream.

In the Daitokuji in Kyōto, Japan, there are two identical compositions (pls. 6 and 7). The inscription on each of these pictures reads as follows (pl. 8):<sup>4</sup>

洛北 紫野大德寺 五百羅漢百幅 稀世寶畫也 嚮鬻於外  
國 外人買其十二幅 而八十八幅 有故復歸寺 議更欲保存之  
余惜其闕 就往年所臨摸 複寫以寄附焉 是其一也  
明治丁酉夏日 桃花坊社 成卿 成 卿

"At the Murasaki-no-Daitokuji of Raku-hoku (Northern Kyōto), one hundred hangings of five hundred Rakans<sup>5</sup> are rare and precious paintings of the world. In the past, they had been offered for sale in a foreign country where the foreigners had purchased twelve of the hangings. The [remaining] eighty-eight hangings, however, were destined to return to the temple, and it was decided to keep them there. I regret the loss. Thus from the copies I had made some years ago, I have [twelve] duplicates made to supplement [this loss]. This is one of them.

"Meiji, *hinoto-tori* (1897), a summer day, at To-ka-bō-sha, Seikyō, seal."

<sup>4</sup> Seikyō's full name was Morimoto Kōchō (ca. 1847-1905). He was one-time director of both the Imperial Museums at Kyōto and Nara. Between the third of the first month of 1887 and the fourth of the ninth month of 1888, while serving with the government in Kyōto, he made a complete set of copies of the hundred pictures of rakans (lohan) then kept in the Daitokuji in Kyōto. Nine years later, in 1897, he found that twelve of the original paintings had since disappeared. He made twelve copies after his first copies and donated them to the temple with the above inscription (pls. 4-7).

The hundred copies of 1888 have been published by Morimoto Kōchō's son, Morimoto Tōkaku, in a commemorative album, *Go-hyaku-rakan-chō* (33). The above information is found in the colophons of this publication.

<sup>5</sup> Rakan is the Japanese term for the Chinese lohan. In Sanskrit, it is arhat.

The Daitokuji was sadly in need of repair toward the end of the last century. In 1894, forty-four of the set of one hundred pictures depicting the five hundred lohans (arhats or rakans, Buddhist saints) were introduced to the West through a special exhibition arranged by Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, Curator of Japanese Art at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (8). At the close of the exhibition, ten of the group, hand-picked by Fenollosa, were purchased by the Boston Museum.<sup>6</sup> Not included in the Boston show, however, were two additional pictures from the Daitokuji sold independently to some unknown "private collectors" (84, p. 12), thus making the total of twelve hangings purchased by the "foreigners." With the discovery of the faded gold inscriptions on the two pictures at the Freer Gallery, their identification as the two missing pictures from the Daitokuji was therefore confirmed.

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<sup>6</sup> 84, pp. 12-13, pls. 75-84:

Pl. 75—"Five Arhats Crossing the Sea," Reg. No. 06.291, Ross Collection (8, Cat. No. 7; 70, pt. 2, pl. 58).

Pl. 76—"Arhats Demonstrating Before Taoist Heretics the Mysterious Power of the Sutras," Reg. No. 06.290, Ross Collection (8, Cat. No. 17; 70, pt. 2, pl. 57).

Pl. 77—"Indian on a Camel Offering Precious Things to Arhats," Reg. No. 95.2, General Fund (8, Cat. No. 18; 70, pt. 2, pl. 56).

Pl. 78—"Four Arhats and Two Attendants Witnessing the Transfiguration of an Arhat," Reg. No. 95.3, General Fund (8, Cat. No. 20; 70, pt. 2, pl. 60).

Pl. 79—"Arhats Bestowing Alms upon Beggars," Reg. No. 95.4, General Fund (8, Cat. No. 21; 70, pt. 2, pl. 61).

Pl. 80—"Arhats and Gift-bearers in a Bamboo Grove," Reg. No. 95.5, General Fund (8, Cat. No. 24; 70, pt. 2, pl. 62).

Pl. 81—"Arhats Watching Demons Distributing the Buddha's Bones," Reg. No. 95.6, General Fund (8, Cat. No. 19; 70, pt. 2, pl. 63).

Pl. 82—"Arhats Attended by a Dragon in Meditation on Water and Four Others Riding on Clouds," Reg. No. 06.288, Ross Collection (8, Cat. No. 3; 70, pt. 2, pl. 64).

Pl. 83—"One of Five Arhats Manifesting Himself as the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara Before Priests and Laity," Reg. No. 06.289, Ross Collection (8, Cat. No. 5).

Pl. 84—"One of Five Arhats Feeding a Hungry Spirit," Reg. No. 06.292, Ross Collection (8, Cat. No. 4; 70, pt. 2, pl. 59).

Chief publications of these ten paintings are: 53; 70, pp. 46-48, pls. 56-64; 84, loc. cit.

I. CHOU CHI-CH'ANG, LIN T'ING-KUEI, AND  
MORIMOTO KŌCHŌ

During the nineteenth century, the hundred pictures of lohans at the Daitokuji were generally thought to be either works of Kuan-hsiu or Li Lung-mien, the two greatest names in the field of lohan paintings.<sup>7</sup> In 1850, Tesuji, in compiling the *Rakan-zusan-shū* (59, vol. 1, fol. 2r), was the first to express his doubts:

"The painted scrolls of the master Hsiu (Kuan-hsiu) are frequently seen in this country. Complete sets however are rare. In the Capital (Kyōto), the sixteen colored hangings of rakans kept in the Kōdaiji are said to be his original works. [These pictures] were brought back by our priest Shunshō of the Senyuji (ca. 1199), and their story was recorded in the *Genkō-shakusho* (ca. 1346). Indeed, they are among the greatest treasures of the world. In the west part of the Capital, the Daitokuji possesses one hundred hangings depicting five hundred rakans, which are also said to be original works [of Kuan-hsiu]. But some feel that the style of these paintings is pretty in colors but weak in brushwork. Although not works of mediocrity, it is feared that they are not real works [of the master]. Furthermore, in Master Hsiu's biography, there is no mention of his having painted the five hundred rakans. The matter is therefore rather doubtful."

By the time forty-four of the group were exhibited in Boston in 1894, Fenollosa had discovered that "a fading inscription in gold upon one of the pictures registers the fact that they were presented to a Chinese temple in memory of the ancestors of the Kio (Kao) family in the year 1175." (8, p. 11.) Fenollosa, however, had no wish to refute the traditional attribution of these paintings to Li Lung-mien. In spite of the obvious discrepancy in dates (Li died in 1115), he suggested that "it is even possible that a few of the finest specimens are from his (Li's) own hands, and it is probable that many others are founded upon his designs"; and he concluded: "We shall

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<sup>7</sup> The author is preparing a monograph on these hundred pictures, which depict a group of five hundred lohans.

be within the limits of safety in regarding this series as made up of works by his followers, and executed at different times during the course of the twelfth century." (*Loc. cit.*)

Soon after the return of the thirty-four pictures from the Boston exhibition, the Japanese Government, in 1908, classified the remaining pictures at the Daitokuji as "National Treasures." (57, pt. 32, p. 262, and 42, p. 8.) Two years later, in 1910, Dr. Seiichi Taki published an intact inscription found on one of the paintings in the Daitokuji, and gave, for the first time, the names of the two artists Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei and the abbot I-shao as those who were responsible for the making of the hundred pictures.<sup>8</sup>

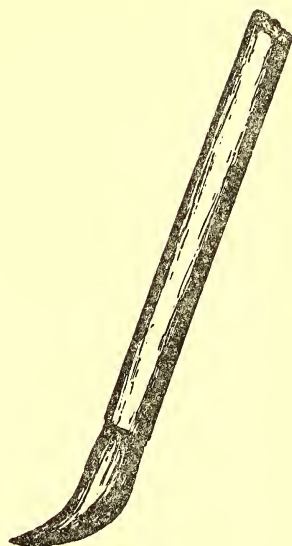
Both painters, Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei, are unknown in history. This is not surprising when one recalls that religious art had ceased to be a gentleman's pursuit during the Southern Sung dynasty and that the last famous painter of lohans was Li Lung-mien, who died A.D. 1106. The Freer pictures, both signed, offer us an excellent basis for comparing the styles of the two artists. While Lin seems to have a more powerful hand, he is often less sensitive in touch. Technically, the two artists handle the brush differently. For every line, Chou centers to the point of his brush, while Lin always keeps his brush point on the left side of his lines (see text fig. 1).

This difference in technique is most fundamental, since by nature, the brush stroke with the point in the center excels in making smooth and round curves, and the oblique stroke can make powerful zigzag lines. Thus in landscape, Chou draws round rocks with fine ropelike modeling lines, and Lin takes delight in vertical cliffs with jagged edges (pl. 9, left and right). In drapery folds, Chou makes them whirl and roll, while Lin makes them drop in sharp angles (pl. 10, left and right).<sup>9</sup>

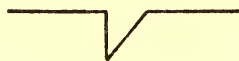
<sup>8</sup> 78, p. 283. The inscription, signed by Chou Chi-ch'ang, mentions the Fêng-lo Village and the Ku-yü-li (see footnote 3).

For three more published inscriptions, see 42, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> This distinction obviously reminds us of the famous opposition of Ts'ao and Wu in drapery styles, which has been characterized by Kuo Jo-hsü of the eleventh century: "Wu's brush gave an effect of smooth curves, and his robes



Brush point in the center  
(Chou Chi-ch'ang).



Brush point on the side  
(Lin T'ing-kuei).

FIG. 1.—The brush techniques of Chou Chi-ch'ang and Lin T'ing-kuei.

Ideally, different brush techniques should be employed for various morphological elements in pictures. Like so many Chinese artists, however, both Chou and Lin have committed the error of being too faithful to one technique. The results

billowed upward. Ts'ao's brush was a style using close-set parallels, and his robes were clinging and tight. It was for this reason that later men held that Wu's girdles were caught by the wind, while Ts'ao's garments were just out of water" (A. C. Soper, translated and annotated, *Kuo Jo Hsiü's experiences in painting* [41, p. 17]; for the original text, see *ibid.*, from back to front, 5th leaf, recto, upper register). According to *I-chou-ming-hua-lu*, all paintings of Buddhist icons and lohans followed these two basic styles (35, ch. 9, fol. 19r; 41, p. 149, n. 368).

The identities of Ts'ao and Wu, however, are uncertain. While Kuo Jo-hsü argued for Ts'ao Chung-ta and Wu Tao-tzū, Huang Hsiu-fu and the monk Jên-hsien, both Szū-ch'uan historians, gave Ts'ao Pu-hsing and Wu Chien as the originators of these styles (41, p. 17, n. 196, 197, 368). In the *I-chou-ming-hua-lu* (35), the name given for Wu reads Wu Tung, which must be a misprint for Wu Chien.

are often awkward. In portraying the crystal-sharp rock strata, Chou shows a marked deficiency (pl. 11, left). Even though he uses the correct "axe" interior modeling strokes, he forgets himself in drawing the outline of the rock, which is still soft and sinuous. Compared to Lin's version of a similar rock (pl. 11, right), Chou's shortcoming becomes quite obvious. On the other hand, when the oblique (or "square") brush is applied to a wavy type of drapery—which the centered (or "round") brush can do with such swiftness and ease—Lin has to struggle strenuously just to get around the corners of the undulating lines (pl. 12, left and right).<sup>10</sup>

Equally different, but in a converse manner, are the drawings of the heads by the two artists. Here Chou, the round-brushed man, seems to specialize in "suarish" or lopsided heads, while Lin, the square-brushed man, draws round and well-balanced ones. For Chou has employed what may be called a "supernaturalizing formula" which turns heads into angular and often geometricized abstractions.<sup>11</sup> A favorite type is a head in three-quarter view with a flattened top and a sloping forehead, which results in a trapezium (pl. 13, left). Others in frontal, uplifted, or profile views show either a severe square, a semicircle or a bumpy circle (pl. 14, left; pl. 15, left; pl. 16, left). The delineation, in any event, shows great precision and deliberateness. Lin's heads, on the contrary, are perfectly round and normal in physiognomy, and are usually marked by the prominent dome of the cranium. In

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<sup>10</sup> This wavy type of drapery is commonly called the *hsing-yün-liu-shui-miao*, or drawing like scudding clouds and running water, a term first used by the Ming critics (50, p. 43, No. 263, illustrated on pl. 6, the second in the middle register).

<sup>11</sup> According to the Chinese pseudo-scientific study of human physiognomy, certain irregularities in a person's skull may be taken as indications of supernatural talents or powers with which a person is endowed. Thus, the head of the god of longevity is elongated to a conical shape at the top. In Buddhist iconography the most significant supernatural bump is the *Uṣṇīṣa*, an exclusive attribute of Buddha and one of the thirty-two celestial marks borne by the infant Buddha (20, vol. 2, p. 17 ff. See also 86).

For other examples of heads of lohans with bumps, see Kuan-hsiu's portraits of the sixteen lohans (91).

a comparable three-quarter view (pl. 13, left and right), whereas Chou makes the eyebrow and the eye of his head into two parallel diagonal lines so that the gaze of the holy man may seem intensified, Lin chooses to draw his eyebrow and eye in two opposing arcs so as to emphasize the curvature of the face. On the whole, in order to stress the roundness, Lin's heads are also more heavily modeled (pl. 14, right; pl. 15, right; pl. 16, right).

In composition, Lin's *Laundering* scene shows a simple landscape setting, which provides a rather limited stage space in the fore- and middle-grounds.<sup>12</sup> A similar composition is seen in Lin's *Lohans Washing Their Feet* at the Daitokuji (pl. 17). Chou's vision of height and depth, however, called for some striking pictorial devices. It is most revealing to compare the *Miracle at the Rock-Bridge* with the real view of the natural bridge at the T'ien-t'ai-shan (pls. 1 and 18). For a scene of such enormous scale, the artist chose first, it seems, to emphasize the idea of the loftiness of the mountain rather than its physical depth. He cleverly used two bands of clouds at the top and the base of the picture in order to conceal both the source and the bottom of the waterfall, so that the valley beneath the bridge may seem almost bottomless. Following the gaze of three lohans who stand on a band of clouds in the foreground, we see at a distance on the dangerous natural rock bridge a tiny monk, who, by his concentrated upward gaze, in turn directs our attention to two more lohans who stand high in the clouds looking down at him. With the lower cloud formation acting as a repoussoir, the spectator standing, as it were, on the same cloud band as the foreground lohans, soars amidst vapor and air, leaving the tons of water

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<sup>12</sup> In the nine original Lin T'ing-kueis now at the Daitokuji, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Freer Gallery, only two kinds of background are used. The first is this simple landscape setting with tall rocks and trees. Six of the nine pictures are staged in this manner. In all cases, the far distance is either little described or simply blocked by middle-ground elements. The alternative device used by Lin in his three pictures is an open view of a flat garden scene with zigzag diagonal railings. Lin's repertory, as far as it is shown, is thus restricted.

rushing thunderously below. There is no specific description of depth: diagonally receding lines are few in the picture; yet, by means of a clear, rational system of overlapping and a strong diminutive scale of figures, an expansive feeling of space and recession is suggested. Beyond the first layer of clouds where the closer group of three lohans stands, we see a miracle being performed in this world; above the second layer of clouds where the other two lohans stand, we have a glimpse into the supernatural domain in Heaven.

The use of bands of clouds and a radically diminutive scale, sophisticated as it appears to be in this picture by Chou Chich'ang, was based on two fundamental principles established by earlier Chinese landscape painters. Mist across the bottom of a towering mountain was a standard practice for large vertical compositions in the Northern Sung period. In theory, this device was explained by Kuo Hsi, who wrote in the eleventh century: "If one wishes to paint a high mountain, one should not paint every part, or it will not seem high. When mist and haze encircle its waist, then it seems tall." (40, p. 47.) Diminutive scale was implied by the "canon of proportion" set down in the eighth century by Wang Wei, who wrote: "The mountains should be in scores of feet, the trees in feet, horses in inches, and human beings in fractions of an inch. Distant men have no eyes; distant trees have no branches. Distant mountains have no stones, and they are as fine and delicate as eyebrows. Distant water has no ripples, and reaches up to the clouds." (65, p. 71.)

As a sequel to our discussion of the stylistic evolution of Northern Sung landscape painting from the tenth to the twelfth century, which was published recently in *Streams and Mountains Without End*, we may point out that in these pictures at the Freer Gallery, "there is a definite lack of physical continuity of elements both in depth and in the picture plane." (32, p. 9.) This Sung principle of separation of the parts can best be illustrated by a comparison of one of the originals with its seemingly meticulous copy made by Morimoto Kōchō in 1897 (pls. 1 and 6).

In comparing the twelfth-century painting with its modern imitation, it is understood that the difference in quality is only a normal phenomenon which exists in any original-and-copy relationship. When an imitator seeks to make an exact reproduction of an object, he hesitates, falters, and revises. Like a boy at play who tries to walk along a chalked line, while he could run or skip with the greatest ease and grace at his own will, he suddenly finds himself wobbling and stumbling over the prescribed line under his feet. The result of tracing a delicate drawing with a soft brush is thus inevitably awkward and often appears mannered and stiff.

The basis of our comparative study, however, is not quality. As a method for studying the changes in style we make our comparison with one aim in mind: to find not the faults, but the positive, though unconscious, additions of new stylistic principles in the copy which betray the concepts and interests of its own time. By juxtaposing the copy with its original, we may study what the copy is not. In doing so, we may come to grips with what the original is.

In our present discussion, the validity of this type of analysis seems to be further enhanced by the fact that the copy in question, being made by Morimoto Kōchō after the first copy he made in 1888, is actually twice removed from the original (pls. 1, 4, and 6). In view of this, the literalness of the copying is indeed amazing, while the unconscious deviations from the original have also become more marked. At first glance, we are struck by the sharpened accentuation of dark and light in the copy. Around the edges of the clouds and the heads, areas are darkened to bring out the contrast. The silhouettes of the heads, the rocks, and the clouds, as though shocked by electricity, are now a series of automatically undulating waves, and it is impossible to tell whether these were caused by the fact that the copyist was carried away by his own rhythm—which no doubt was set forth in sympathy with a similar but far less mechanical rhythm in the original—or, simply, that his brush was unstable. For the pine tree on the left, the small circles are no longer representative of the pine bark; they rather describe

an unpleasantly rough surface with some irregular arabesque patterns. The crags behind the foreground lohans are covered by a blanket of brittle and staccato strokes, which recall the texture of a matting surface instead of that of a rock.

The treatment of objects in this modern copy is, in short, at once more naturalistic and bizarrely decorative than in the original. While the recession into space in the earlier painting was only suggested by the relative positions of the overlapping parts and a rationalizing diminution of scale and modeling, the modern copyist, by means of added value contrast and what amounts to shadows behind the silhouettes of objects, has actually succeeded in pushing the objects into a measurable physical distance. The modeling in the copy also tends to be more specific. For the big rock at the end of the bridge, the copyist has broken the original single mass into a three-stepped structure. The same is done to the cliff in the back, especially at the point above the waterfall in the upper left corner of the picture.

The composition of the copy is conceived in terms of the four edges of the picture plane. Either consciously, or most likely unconsciously, the copyist has moved the waterfall on the left against the left border of the picture, thus allowing the water to fall right along the vertical border of the picture plane. (Note that in Morimoto's copy of 1888, plate 4, the waterfall lies somewhere between those of the original and the copy of 1897.) This L-shaped water-and-cloud pattern in the lower left corner of the copy formally balances the triangular patch of clouds in its upper right corner. By the accentuated modeling lines, a schematic zigzag pattern is formed in the picture plane. From the head of the figure on the bridge, for instance, there is an apparent diagonal line running across the modeling of the cliff in the back into the top of the massive cloud formation. These surface patterns, which do not exist in the original, give the copy an entirely new decorative effect.

To be sure, the clouds on the top and the bottom of the copy are almost exact imitations of the clouds in the original. Yet, whereas the original cloud is a dense and yet intangible substance, which seems to hug and cling around the solids, the

cloud in the copy has become a solid and tangible area by itself. Consequently, the celestial palace in the copy, instead of emerging from the clouds as it does in its original form, is seen through a hole cut into the massive screen of cloud formations.

Studying the relationship between the solids and the voids in the two pictures, one realizes that while the two oppose each other in the copy, they are thoroughly merged in the original twelfth-century painting. The whole picture of the twelfth century is saturated with air and mist: where the solids emerge, the mist disappears, and where the mist is heavy, the solid yields its form. In contrast to the accentuated shadows in the copy, the light in this picture is a general, omnipresent agent of illumination. The use of brush and ink is harmonious—the secret being an interpenetration of the dark and the light—and the gradation of ink values is rich and complete. As there is no harsh accentuated modeling of the surface, there is in fact illumination (*ming*) alone, and no external light at all.

In conclusion, it may be said that the unity of space in an early Chinese painting was achieved only intellectually, never optically. The lack of external light and the separation of the parts were inevitable results of a conceptual way of thinking. Technically, without the unifying mechanism of a perspective system, the artist always presented an object from the ideal point of view, that is *en face*. Foreshortening was skillfully and effectively used; but the foreshortened angle was merely a formal statement of a position or a gesture like a protruding leg, an extended hand, or an uplifted head. In other words, the magic eye of the artist was always gazing directly in front of, behind, or at the side of the object. Thus Wang Wei of the eighth century wrote: "In drawing stones, their three sides should be shown." (65, p. 72.)

## II. THE ROCK BRIDGE AT THE T'IENT'AI MOUNTAIN

The relative positions of the two pictures at the Freer Gallery in the original "program" will be made clear in a more extensive treatment of the problem. Brief mention here of a few facts will suffice.

For Abbot I-shao, who in 1175 commissioned the series at the Hui-an-yüan in Ning-p'ö, there was no special planning needed other than the basic decision to represent five lohans in each picture and thus depict the group of five hundred lohans in one hundred silk hangings. The repertory of lohan paintings, which began in the eighth and ninth centuries as icons of the sixteen lohans described by Arhat Nandimitra (75; 54, No. 1466; 77, XLIX, No. 2030, pp. 12-14), had developed into a rich narrative cycle of many more lohans in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>13</sup> The series of I-shao, which constitutes as it were a *summa* of the complex results of this growth, has no real iconographic unity. Rather than representing any coherent narration of the lives of lohans, it shows us a comprehensive picture of the cult of lohans at the middle of the twelfth century in China—from everything the lohans were thought to be, to all the things these guardian saints were believed to be doing until the next "Kingdom Come."<sup>14</sup>

The *Laundering* scene at the Freer Gallery belongs to a series of illustrations of daily life of lohans which must be discussed elsewhere in its proper context. The *Miracle at the Rock-Bridge*, however, illustrates a Chinese legend at the Mt. Olympus of the Chinese Cult of Lohans, the T'ien-t'ai-shan.

In the *Kao-sêng-chuan* (36), the life of a saintly monk of the fourth century named T'an-yu is given (54, No. 1490; 77,

<sup>13</sup> See footnotes 43 and 60.

<sup>14</sup> For the cult of lohans, see section IV and Addendum.

The hundred pictures at the Daitokuji may be divided into the following groups:

Dedication piece .....	1
(1) "Reading and Expounding Sūtras".....	10
(2) "Meditation" .....	5
(3) "Contemplation" .....	11
(4) "Subduing Animals" .....	4
(5) "Receiving Offerings" .....	10
(6) "Service and Hospitality of the Dragon-King".....	5
(7) "Acts of Mercy".....	7
(8) "Relics and Stupas".....	5
(9) "Life of Lohans".....	23
(10) "Epiphanies and Miracles".....	19

L, No. 2059, *ch.* II, 3, pp. 395-396).<sup>15</sup> A native of Tun-huang, T'an-yu came to stay at the T'ien-t'ai-shan in the modern province of Chē-chiang. After a few minor miraculous happenings, the story of the rock bridge begins:<sup>16</sup>

天台懸崖峻峙 峯嶺切天 古老相傳云 上有佳精舍 得道者居之 雖有石橋跨澗 而橫石斷人 且莓苔青滑 自終古以來 無得至者 猷行至橋所 聞空中聲曰 知君誠篤 今未得度 却後十年 自當來也 猷心悵然 夕留中宿 聞行道唱薩之聲 旦復欲前 見一人鬚眉皓白 問猷所之 猷具答意 公曰 君生死身 何可得去 吾是山神 故相告耳 猷乃退還 (中略) 猷每恨不得度石橋 後潔齋累日 復欲更往 見橫石洞開 度橋少許 覩精舍神僧 果如前所說 因共燒香中食 食畢神僧謂猷曰 却後十年 自當來此 今未得住 於是而返 顧看橫石 還合如初

"... The hanging cliffs at T'ien-t'ai are steep and narrow, and their peaks are close to Heaven. An ancient tradition relates that above [the peak], there are beautiful and exquisite buildings<sup>17</sup> inhabited by 'those who have attained the Tao.' Although there is a rock bridge across the deep ravine, the bridge is blocked by a huge stone which stops all passengers. Furthermore, moss has made it green and slippery. From time immemorial, there has never been anyone who could cross over to reach [the peak].

"Yu came to the bridge and heard a voice from the air, saying: 'We know that you are sincere and faithful. But time is not yet ready for your passage. Ten years from now, you shall come again.' Yu was greatly disappointed. When night came, he remained there. While sleeping, he heard the sounds of *pradakṣina* processions and prayers to Bodhisattvas. In the morning, he was ready to go forward again, when he saw a man with white beard and eye-brows appear and ask where he was going. Yu answered him; whereupon the elder said: 'Sire, you have a body that is subject to life and death, so how can you

<sup>15</sup> The same story is retold in 28; 54, No. 1482, *ch.* XXXIX; 77, LIII, No. 2122, p. 594c.

<sup>16</sup> 77, L, No. 2059, p. 396 a-b.

<sup>17</sup> The *ching-shē*, "Exquisite buildings," here refer to Buddhist temples.

cross! I am the genius of the mountain, and that is why I give you this advice.' Thus Yu withdrew and returned. . . .

"Yu had always regretted that he failed to cross the rock bridge. Later, he fasted for several days and went forward again. [This time] he found the obstructing stone opening into a large hole. As he entered, not far beyond the bridge, he saw exquisite buildings and holy monks just as he had heard. So he joined the censing and the mid-day repast. When it was over, the holy monks said to Yu: 'Exactly ten years from now, you will come again. Today you shall not stay.' With this [promise], he returned. As he turned and looked at the obstructing stone, it was closed as it had always been."

In plate 1, T'an-yu, the little monk on the bridge, bends forward with palms folded in prayer, while five lohans, above and below, look on with gentleness and great concern. The hump of stone, which lies at the end of the bridge, is still in its normal position. The moment, therefore, is a split second before the miracle, when the trial of devotion came to an end and the guardian saints waved the obstructing stone open to welcome the tenacious monk as the victor in this game of obstacles.

The T'ien-t'ai-shan (Mountain of Heavenly Terraces) lies 180 miles southeast of the city of Hang-chou, and about 50 miles south of the city of Ning-p'o, where the pictures under discussion were originally made. Because of its striking mountain scenery, many of its peaks and caverns are famous as haunts of gods. The rock bridge, as a natural wonder, is especially well known. The English missionary scholar, the Rev. J. Edkins, who traveled in China in the closing decades of the last century, gave a description of the place as follows (23, pp. 177-178):

"... The loud roar of the waterfall, and the close-set woods on the hills around, the two mountain brooks uniting before they reach the cataract, then passing beneath the natural bridge down the fall, and thence pursuing their way to the north, united to give this spot an air of grandeur in the hermit's mind. It seemed a home for supernatural beings. It is they that cause the unusual appearances of nature. The lo-hans, those

exalted disciples of Buddha whose power and knowledge are so great, might reside here. In fact a legend on the subject soon grew into public belief, and the music of the lo-hans was said to be heard at times a little before dawn by priests lying awake in their cells. A choir of five hundred at that silent hour made the woods resound with harmony. In every monastery of this region a hall devoted to images of the five hundred lo-hans now exists, and on the side of the natural bridge is a small shrine containing five hundred stone figures, which are worshipped by those who venture to cross by the narrow and dangerous path that spans the cataract."

In reality, the rock bridge is about twenty feet in thickness, but at places, only four or five inches in width (pl. 18). The bronze shrine at the end of the bridge, dedicated to the five hundred lohans, stands about five feet tall and was erected in the early seventeenth century.<sup>18</sup> It takes unusual acrobatic skill to cross the bridge in order to reach the shrine; but even then, the ledge walker finds himself discouraged from any further adventure by the great hump of stone rising behind the shrine, and he would have to repeat his feat in returning across the bridge. Small wonder that this stone blockade was considered one of the guarded borders between this world and the next!

### III. THE LOHANS AT THE ROCK BRIDGE

While the tradition of sacred mountains dates from the earliest recorded history in China, the most revered "Five Peaks," imbued with the spirit of the Confucian state rituals, had always remained indigenously Chinese.<sup>19</sup> With the coming

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<sup>18</sup> The shrine was dedicated during the reign T'ien-ch'i, A.D. 1621-27. The five hundred statuettes are made of bronze instead of stone as stated in Edkin's account (23, pp. 177-178, note on pl. 33).

<sup>19</sup> The five peaks are the five cosmic mountains of East, West, North, South, and the Center. Since the Eastern Chou dynasty (ca. 770 B.C.) they have been identified as:

- T'ai-shan (East)
- Hua-shan (West)
- Hêng-shan (North)
- Huo-shan (South)
- Sung-shan (Center)

(See 27, XI, in the *Szū-pu-ts'ung-k'an* edition, fol. 13v.)

of Buddhism, the new deities made a new set of mountains sacred. The mountain Wu-t'ai ("Mountain of Five Terraces" in the province of Shan-hsi) was consecrated to Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī,<sup>20</sup> while Avalokiteśvara, Samantabhadra, and Kṣitigarbha were respectively worshiped at the mountains P'u-t'o (in Chē-chiang), Ē-mei (in Szū-ch'uan) and Chiu-hua (in An-hui).<sup>21</sup>

Like so many illustrious Buddhist mountains, the T'ien-t'ai-shan in ancient times belonged to the wilderness of unexploited southern China. As a scenic spot, it was first made known by a poem written in the middle of the fourth century by Sun Ch'o. The poem itself, being typical of its age, is beautiful but not very informative. The preface to the poem by the same author, however, tells exactly why the mountain was "discovered" at this particular moment of history.<sup>22</sup>

天台山者 蓋山嶽之神秀也 涉海則有方丈蓬萊 登陸則有  
四明天台 皆元聖之所遊化 靈仙之所窟宅 夫其峻極之狀 嘉  
祥之美 窮山海之環富 盡人神之壯麗矣 所以不列于五嶽 闕  
載于常典者 豈不以所立冥奧 其路幽迥 或倒景於重溟 或匿  
峯於千嶺 始經魑魅之途 卒踐無人之境 舉世罕能登涉 王者  
莫由禋祀 故事絕於常篇 名標於奇紀 然圖像之興 豈虛也哉  
非夫遺世翫道 絕粒茹芝者 烏能輕舉而宅之 非夫遠寄冥搜  
篤信通神者 何肯遙想而存之 余所以馳神運思 晝詠宵興 俯  
仰之間 若已再升者也 方解纓絡 永託茲嶺 不任吟想之至  
聊奮藻以散懷

"The T'ien-t'ai-shan is the very godly essence of mountains and precipices. Across the ocean, there are Fang-chang and

<sup>20</sup> C. Eliot points out: "An interesting fact about Mañjuśrī is his association with China, not only in Chinese but in late Indian legends [for the Nepalese legends see 45]. The mountain Wu-t'ai-shan in the province of Shan-si is sacred to him and is covered with temples erected in his honor. The name (Mountain of Five Terraces) is rendered in Sanskrit as Pancaśīrsha, or Pancaśikha, and occurs both in the Scayambhū Purāṇa and in the text appended to miniatures representing Mañjuśrī." (25, vol. 2, p. 20.)

<sup>21</sup> 22, vol. 6, p. 164, n. 1 on Avalokiteśvara and P'u-t'o-shan; vol. 6, p. 129 on Samantabhadra and Ē-mei-shan; vol. 7, p. 243 f., on Kṣitigarbha and Chiu-hua-shan.

<sup>22</sup> 83, XI, in the *Szū-pu-ts'ung-k'an* ed., ch. XI, fol. 3; 82, ch. XIV, fol. 1.

P'êng-lai;<sup>23</sup> over the land, one finds but Szū-ming and T'ien-t'ai.<sup>24</sup> These are haunts of supreme sages and homes of gods and spirits. With its high and majestic appearance and its good and auspicious beauty, it (T'ien-t'ai-shan) seems to embody all the riches of the land and the sea and to possess all the grandeur and beauty that are seen among men and gods. That [its name] does not rank with the 'Five Peaks' or exist in the usual classics is only due to its distant and secret location and its hidden and remote paths. Now and again, it looks over the deep ocean; or hides its soaring peaks amidst a thousand cliffs. [To go there] is like embarking upon a journey of ghosts; then at last, one steps into an uninhabited wilderness. The whole world can hardly surmount [these mountain barriers], while the rulers have no way of worshipping or sacrificing there. As a result, the matter is omitted from ordinary books, and the name is mentioned only in the 'Records of Strange Things.'<sup>25</sup>

"Yet there is an illustrated map [of the mountain], and such a thing could not be done without a reason. Except for those who have left the world behind to pursue the Tao and have given up the grains for wild mushrooms (meaning immortals), who can ascend lightly [like a god] and take up residence there? Unless someone has searched in the deep and the far, has undeviating faith and can communicate with gods, why would he stretch his imagination and take it seriously?

"This is why I have allowed my feelings to run and my thoughts to wander, and have indulged in singing daily and rising from my bed nightly. Between bending and lifting my head, I would feel as if I had mounted its peak again. I am going to cast off the bounds of this world and send [my spirits] to this mountain to rest! Since my murmuring and longing have

<sup>23</sup> Fang-chang and P'eng-lai are two of the "three immortals' islands" described by Ssū-ma Ch'ien in his *Shih-chi* (67).

<sup>24</sup> The mountain Szū-ming is connected with the T'ien-t'ai-shan and is situated in the same Chē-chiang province. It is about 150 miles southwest of Ning-p'o.

<sup>25</sup> The *ch'i-chi* "Records of Strange Things" refer specifically to geographical and ethnological works.

become unbearable, I shall vainly move my ornate verse to free the pressure of my bosom."

The Chinese empire was in a state of disunity and constant wars for a period of four hundred years between the fall of the Han in A. D. 220 and the rise of the T'ang dynasty in A. D. 618. In Sun Ch'o's writing, the note of escapism is unmistakable. By the time T'ao Yüan-ming wrote his fable *T'ao-hua-yüan-chi*, "A Trip to the Never-never-land of Peach Blossoms," in the 370's,<sup>26</sup> this escapism had firmly taken root in the form of Taoist recluses and other mountain hermits. The climate of opinion of the time was antisocial, anti-Confucian, and generally favored a pro-Taoist "naturalism." This led to the discovery of scenic spots like the T'ien-t'ai mountain, which in turn found pictorial expression in the art of landscape painting of the following centuries in China.<sup>27</sup>

But the Taoists and their immortals did not retain their

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<sup>26</sup> The *T'ao-hua-yüan-chi* relates that during the reign T'ai-yüan (A.D. 376-396) a fisherman of Wu-ling lost his way and found himself sailing through a blossoming peach forest. At the end of the stream, he landed. There he found a small passage through the mountain leading to a beautiful village in the valley. He was cordially received by the villagers who, however, wore strange costumes. They told him that their ancestors had moved there to escape the devastation of the Ch'in time (ca. 210 B.C.) and that they had been secluded ever since. They asked about the present dynasty. Not knowing about the Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), they naturally had never heard of the Wei and the Chin! In a few days the fisherman departed after he was cautioned not to reveal their secret. He carefully marked his way home and reported immediately to the local prefect. When a search party was sent the landmarks were all lost and the Peach Blossom Land was never to be found again. (79, pp. 104-105.)

<sup>27</sup> Curiously, in early days, the landscapists tried to justify their love for nature in terms of some Confucian proverbs. Thus Tsung Ping wrote at the end of the fourth century (65, p. 38):

"As to landscapes, they exist in material substance and soar into the realm of the spirit. Therefore, Hsüan Yüan, Yao, K'ung, Kuang Ch'eng, Ta K'uai, Hsü Yu, Ku Chu and other Taoists traveled among the mountains of K'ung-t'ung, Chü-tzu, Miao-ku, Chi-shou and Ta-meng. Such sojourning has often been called 'finding pleasure in mountains and water by the virtuous and wise' [16a, Book VI, Ch. 21]. The virtuous man follows the Way (Tao) by spiritual insight; the wise man takes this same approach. But the lovers of landscapes are led into the Way by a sense of form. The virtuous man also takes pleasure in this. Then, are not the pleasures of the virtuous and the wise similar to those of the lovers of landscapes?"

monopoly of these scenic mountains for long. In spite of their violent antagonism, the Taoist and the Buddhist had one thing in common: they were both *fang-wai-jên*, unworldly people. In searching for enlightenment and deliverance, a Buddhist bore every outward resemblance to an occult Taoist who sought for immortality. The adventure of the monk T'an-yu at the rock bridge of the T'ien-t'ai mountain, not too different from a pagan story of apotheosis, happened only about thirty years after Sun Ch'o wrote his poem on the T'ien-t'ai-shan, and, possibly, in the same decade in which T'ao Yüan-ming wrote his fable on the "Peach Land."<sup>28</sup> Then came the decisive moment at the end of the sixth century, when Chih-k'ai (or Chih-i) arrived at the T'ien-t'ai-shan and founded a school of Buddhism in its name (23, Ch. 8).<sup>29</sup> From this point on, T'ien-t'ai has remained a strong Buddhist center. By the beginning of the ninth century, legends of a Buddhist nature were accepted even by Taoist writers; one Hsü Ling-fu spoke of the lohans above the rock bridge at the T'ien-t'ai-shan, unabashedly, as an unequivocal truth. (81, in 77, LI, No. 2096, p. 1055a.)

It is obvious that during its formative years in China, Buddhism had borrowed much from the older Taoist legends. The language used by early Buddhist writers was often vague and full of Taoist connotations. When T'an-yu's adventure was recounted in the *Kao-sêng-chuan* at the beginning of the sixth century, the supernatural beings at the rock bridge were described only generically as *shen-sêngs*, or "holy monks"; while at one place where the "ancient tradition" was repeated,

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<sup>28</sup> T'an-yu died at the end of the reign T'ai-yüan, ca. A.D. 396 (see biography in 36, p. 396b). Since he was told at the rock bridge that he was to go back there after ten years, we may assume that the "Miracle at the Rock-Bridge" happened in A.D. 386.

In Sun Ch'o's poem the powers of lohans at the T'ien-t'ai-shan have already been noted, as one verse reads: "Wang Ch'iao (a Taoist immortal) ascended to Heaven riding on a crane, while the *ying-chên* (lohan) flew in the air riding on a staff" (Sun Ch'o, *ibid.*, fol. 5v, lines 10-11).

<sup>29</sup> The close connection between the T'ien-t'ai Buddhism and the cult of lohans is suggested by the fact that around 1000, a T'ien-t'ai priest, Ching Chiao, had composed a ceremonial essay for the worship of lohans called *Lo-han-li-tsan-wên* (text lost, mentioned in 30, ch. XXI; 77, XLIX, No. 2035, p. 241c).

they were referred to as *tě-tao-chē*, or "those who have attained the *Tao*," an expression taken directly from the Taoists.<sup>30</sup> Evidently the tradition concerning a celestial palace over the rock bridge was local folklore, long antedating the arrival of Buddhism on the scene. Just when the local inhabitants decided that the lohans residing on the peak above the rock bridge numbered five hundred it is impossible to say. There is certainly not the slightest hint of such knowledge in T'an-yu's biography in the *Kao-sēng-chuan* (36).

In literature, so far as I know, the legend of the five hundred lohans at T'ien-t'ai-shan (and in China) was first mentioned in the biography of P'u-an (ca. 770-843) in the *Sung-kao-sēng-chuan*:<sup>31</sup>

前此寺 置五百羅漢殿 永嘉全億長史 畫半千形像 每一  
迎請 必於石橋宿夜焚香 具幢蓋螺鈸 引導入于殿 香風送至  
幡幢之勢前靡 而入門即止 其石梁聖寺 在石橋之裏 梵唄方  
作 香靄始飄 先有金 色鳥飛翔 後林樹石畔 見梵僧 或行或  
坐 或招手之狀 或臥空之形 瞬息之間 千變萬化 漢南國王  
錢氏 頻年施供養 祥瑞極繁

"... Formerly at this temple,<sup>32</sup> when a hall was built in the honor of the five hundred lohans, *ch'ang-shih* [a government office clerk] Ch'üan I of Yung-chia painted a half-thousand images. Each time when a dedicatory offering was made [the priest P'u-an] would spend the night at the rock bridge burning incense, and prepare to conduct [the image] into the Hall with banners, canopies, conch-trumpets and cymbals. There was always a fragrant breeze wafting along the procession and the banners would fly forward and become still only upon entering the doors. The Shēng-szū (Temple of lohans) at the

<sup>30</sup> See p. 15.

*Tao*, literally, means a path, a way, or a principle. The Chinese Buddhists used the word *Tao* for the Sanskrit *mārga*.

<sup>31</sup> 77, L, No. 2061, p. 88ob.

<sup>32</sup> In the context, "this temple" seems to refer to the Fu-t'ien-szū (now called the Wan-nien-szū) which P'u-an built in 833 about 7 miles to the west of the rock bridge.

rock bridge was situated inside the bridge.<sup>33</sup> When the hymn singing began and the fragrant mist rose, first, there was a gold-colored bird which came flying, then, in the forest or beside the rocks, Indian monks appeared, some walking, some sitting, some making signs by waving their hands, others even lying at rest in the air. In a wink, there were thousands and tens of thousands of transformations. King Ch'ien of Han-nan throughout the years had made frequent offerings.<sup>34</sup> [In return] there were numerous auspicious omens."

Subsequent imperial gifts in honor of the five hundred lohans were made in the Sung dynasty in the years 983, 985, and 1037.<sup>35</sup>

Conceivably the impetus of the legend of five hundred lohans had come from a passage in *Ta-T'ang-hsi-yü-chi* (76), which gives an Indian tradition of five hundred arhats believed to reside in the mountain Buddhavanagiri near Rājagṛha:<sup>36</sup>

"... Those who are [religiously] inspired sometimes meet them. At times, they (the arhats) appear in the form of *śrāmaṇeras* (mendicant monks) to beg food in the villages. Now

<sup>33</sup> This Shēng-szū must be the mother temple of the three Fang-kuang-szūs, at present situated around the rock bridge. Because of the vagueness of this text (see above, note 32), the tradition of this set of 500 lohans is claimed by both the Fang-kuang-szū and the Fu-t'ien-szū today. See 82, *ch.* VI, fols. 8-9.

<sup>34</sup> There was no kingdom of "Han-nan" during this period. The character "Han," however, could be a misprint for "Chiang." In this case, "King Ch'ien of [Chiang]-nan" refers to King Ch'ien Liu of the Kingdom of Wu-yüeh (907-932), who ruled approximately the modern province of Chē-chiang and was a great patron of the cult of lohans. The Kingdom of Wu-yüeh was located in the old Prefect of Chiang-nan during the T'ang dynasty.

For King Ch'ien Liu, see 90, *ch.* LXVII; and 11.

<sup>35</sup> In the eighth year of the reign T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo (983), by the order of the Emperor T'ai-tsu, two imperial architects rebuilt the Fu-t'ien-szū and made it to "resemble celestial palaces in its grandeur" (74, p. 880c). In the second year of the reign Yung-hsi (985) the Fu-t'ien-szū was renamed as Shou-ch'ang-szū. That year, the Emperor T'ai-tsu donated 516 images of lohans to be dedicated in that temple. In the fourth year of the reign Ching-yu (1037) the Emperor Jēn-tsung made a gift of 500 taels of silver, an imperial robe, and other things to the 500 lohans of the rock bridge (82, *ch.* VI, fols. 8-9).

<sup>36</sup> Hsüan-tsang (76, *cr.* IX, in 77, LI, No. 2087, p. 920a; also see S. Beal trans., 76, vol. 2, p. 145).

For other groups of 500 arhats mentioned in Indian works, see M. W. de Visser (85, p. 21 ff.).

and again, they vanish and reappear, and traces of their miraculous behavior are difficult to describe in detail."

Such a concept would naturally appeal to the Chinese, who in their popular imagination were accustomed to meeting mysterious hermits and gods disguised as beggars or casual travelers. To the non-Buddhist portion of the populace, the lohans might seem to be simply a new form of local genii, or Taoist immortals; while to the believers, the miracle workers, dressed in plain and often ragged monkish clothes, could appear even more approachable than the bodhisattvas. Whereas the bodhisattvas, garbed in ornate princely robes, were totally foreign mythical beings who had turned into full-fledged gods, the lohans were only demigodlike humans. Furthermore, there were contemporary Indian and Central Asian missionaries, mendicant monks, magicians, and native Chinese priests, who acted and looked just like lohans. Who could say with certainty that some of them were not the actual "living lohans," or at least incarnations of them?

#### IV. THE CULT OF LOHANS

Thus, ironically, the worship of lohans, saints of Hīnayāna Buddhism, flourished in China, land of Mahāyānism.<sup>37</sup> To be sure, the lohan worshiped by the Chinese was not the old Hindu ascetic who had "strived and struggled . . . rejected all the conditions of existence which are caused by the *saṃskaras* (material compounds) . . . abandoned all the *kleśas* (passions) and

<sup>37</sup> The term Hīnayāna, literally the "inferior vehicle," is used in contradistinction to the term Mahāyāna, the "great vehicle." It was a derogatory term coined by the Mahāyānists to designate teachings of older Buddhist schools like the *Śrāvaka-yāna* (disciple's, or arhat's, vehicle) and the *Pratyekabuddha-yāna*. For a brief contrast of the ideals of the two schools, see H. Dayal (19, pp. 9-18).

As late as the seventh century A.D., when Hsüan-tsang traveled in India, he found that in the Kingdom of Mathurā, the Mahāyānists and the Hīnayānists studied and worshiped side by side, and "According to their schools, they worshiped their images . . . The *bhikṣuṇī* honored Ānanda, the *śrāmaṇeras* honored Rāhula; those who studied the Great Vehicle (the Mahāyānists) revered the bodhisattvas." (Hsüan-tsang, *op. cit.*, 77, LI, p. 89ob; also Beal, 76, vol. I, p. 181.)

realized the state of an arhat." (7, II, p. 348, 1-6, as quoted by Dayal, 19, p. 15.) As the bodhisattvas were popularly worshiped because they were said to have rejected nirvāṇa "for the sake of the common weal and happiness, out of compassion to the world, for the benefit, weal, and happiness of the world at large, both gods and men" (63, p. 80; and footnote 44),<sup>38</sup> the lohans were worshiped for a similar reason: three sūtras in the Chinese Tripitaka record an old Indian belief stating that, by the order of Buddha, four great arhats (lohans)—Mahākāśyapa, Kuṇḍopadhāniya, Piṇḍola, and Rāhula—have postponed their nirvāṇa, and stayed in the world, so that they may protect Buddha's Law until the advent of the future Buddha Maitreya. (24, XLVIII, ch. 44; 54, No. 543; 77, II, No. 125, p. 789a.)<sup>39</sup>

Now the great arhats mentioned here are all Buddha's personal disciples.<sup>40</sup> The origin of this legend—that there were

<sup>38</sup> For origin and development of the concept of nirvāṇa, see T. Stcherbatsky (71), esp. pp. 40 ff. and 186 ff.

<sup>39</sup> "At that time, the Lord told Kāśyapa, saying: The years of my life have consumed, and I am approaching the age of eighty or more. But, today, the Tathāgata has four great *śrāvakas*, who are able to undertake the mission, whose wisdom is inexhaustible, and whose virtues are plentiful. Who are these four? They are *bhikṣu* Mahākāśyapa, *bhikṣu* Kuṇḍopadhāniya, *bhikṣu* Piṇḍola, and *bhikṣu* Rāhula. You four great *śrāvakas* will not enter *parinirvāṇa*. You must wait for my Law to come to its end, then you may enter *parinirvāṇa*. Mahākāśyapa, you will not enter *parinirvāṇa*, because you must wait for Maitreya to appear in this world." See Addendum, p. 31 ff.

<sup>40</sup> The story of Buddha's instruction to the four great *śrāvakas* (arhats) is of course apocryphal. There is not even as much as a hint of this idea in the account of the last days of Buddha (see *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, ed. by Childers [13] and translation by Rhys Davids [47] where the parallel passages are collected on p. xxxv and the Chinese versions discussed on p. xxxvi ff.). At the moment of Buddha's death, Ānanda was the chief disciple present, while Mahākāśyapa was "traveling on the road from Pāvā to Kuśinagara, with a company of monks." It must be deduced, therefore, that the prominence held by Mahākāśyapa among the "Four Great *Śrāvakas*" in this legend of Buddha's delegation of power was chiefly due to his historical position as the president of the First Council at Rājagṛha and the first patriarch of the Buddhist Church.

Among the other three of the four *śrāvakas*, Rāhula is Buddha's own son, especially worshiped as the patron saint of all novices. (For Rāhula's birth see 38, p. 16.) In the *Lotus* sūtra, he is told by Buddha: "Thou shalt always be

living arhats acting as personal deputies of Buddha in safeguarding the Law—was obviously Hīnayānist. One can imagine the significance of such a Hīnayānist propaganda during their conflict with the rising Mahāyānists; for it was, in point of fact, a sort of Petrine doctrine with an eternally living Saint Peter! However, in bringing back their historical arhats to become the living exponents of the Hīnayānist faith, and to approximate their Mahāyānist opponents the bodhisattvas in the capacity of living saviors, the arhats were made to give up their own goal of *nirvāṇa*. Thus disarmed, the arhats became easy victims of the Mahāyānists, who proclaimed that all arhats were “junior partners” of the great, all-embracing Mahāyānist pantheon. Even before the fifth century A. D., the Mahāyānist Sthiramati had written boldly in the *Mahāyānāvatāraka-śāstra*: “If anyone dares to call Mahāyāna the word of Māra (the devil), this man is a great enemy of Buddha’s Law. All the saints (arhats) will put a stop to that.” (54, No. 1243; 77, XXXII, No. 1634, p. 39b.) Lohans, therefore, had become champions of the Mahāyānist faith.

The story of T’an-yu, although taking place in China, bears obvious resemblance to some earlier Indian legends; one of these found in the ninth book of Hsüan-tsang’s “Records” goes as follows: <sup>41</sup>

“In the east above a rocky cliff where a *bhikṣu* (a mendicant monk) obtained the fruit, there is a stone stūpa. This is the place where one meditating *bhikṣu*, in an effort to obtain the fruit, had thrown himself over the cliff.

“Formerly, when Buddha was alive, there was a *bhikṣu* who sat quietly in the mountain forests trying to learn the final fruit. For a long time he had exercised the utmost zeal without result. Day and night he kept on trying to still his thoughts.

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the eldest son of those Lords Buddhas, just as thou art mine at present.” (63, p. 209.)

For stories concerning Piṇḍola, see Addendum, p. 37 ff.

Kuṇḍopadhāniya’s legends bear a close resemblance to those of Piṇḍola (46, pp. 197-201; also *Ekottara-āgama-sūtra*, in 77, II, pp. 557b and 662a, and *Guṇanirdeśa*(?)*-śāstra*, in 77, XXV, No. 1507).

<sup>41</sup> Hsüan-tsang, 76, in 77, LI, No. 2087, p. 922a; Beal, 76, vol. 2, p. 159.

Then one day, the Tathāgata, knowing that his roots of senses were ready to be conducted, went to him to fulfill his wishes. From the Garden of Bamboos (Veṇuvana) he came to the mountainside, and there he pointed a finger to call him and stood there waiting. When the *bhikṣu* saw the holy congregation from a distance, he was bodily and spiritually excited, and cast himself down from the cliff. Owing to the purity of his heart and his faithful respect for Buddha's words, however, before he reached the bottom, he had obtained the final fruit."

Save for the miraculous ending, this Indian story plainly describes an act of suicide. The idea of self-mortification seems inherent in the ascetic practices of a Hindu holy man. In Hsüang-tsang's "Records" and elsewhere, we find Indian monks slashing their throats in order to become "delivered."<sup>42</sup> The Chinese, however, were basically opposed to asceticism and any form of self-mortification. While the lohans were believed to be living saviors who resided above the rock bridge at the T'ien-t'ai-shan to await the coming of Maitreya, the Future Buddha, the road of deliverance for the mortals also became much more accessible. The *Miracle at the Rock-Bridge* illustrates a doctrine which says, in effect, that faith alone could open the door to Heaven.

As a matter of fact, we have here an epitome of the Chinese Cult of Lohans.

#### ADDENDUM: ON THE LOHANS IN MAHĀYĀNISM<sup>43</sup>

The Mahāyānists never declared Hīnayānism false. They merely insisted that the "inferior vehicles," or hīnayānas, of

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, and Fa-hsien, 37; 54, No. 1498; 77, LI, No. 2085, p. 863a (see also Beal, 76, vol. 1, p. lxi, and the corresponding passage in H. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, pp. 399-411).

<sup>43</sup> A preliminary investigation into the Chinese Cult of Lohans was made by T. Watters (88). This was followed by a more scholarly essay by Ōmura Seigai, entitled *Rakan-zuzō-kō* (60). Concentrating on the problem of the sixteen lohans, Sylvain Lévi and Edouard Chavannes wrote the excellent article, "Les seize arhat protecteurs de la Loi" (46). Then, M. W. de Visser published "The arhats in China and Japan" (85), which ultimately appeared as a separate monograph in 1923 in Berlin.

De Visser's work is largely based on Ōmura's account and the information

an arhat or a Pratyekabuddha were only low-grade instruments created by Buddha to suit the needs of the "ignorant with low dispositions," and that ultimately, they were to be replaced by the "great vehicle," the Mahāyāna.

This point was beautifully made in the Mahāyānist *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra*, "The Lotus of the Wonderful Doctrine."<sup>44</sup> In the second chapter of that sūtra, the Mahāyānist Buddha told the venerable arhat Śāriputra in front of a congregation of arhats and other elders that only the Tathāgatas (Buddhas) know how to explain the Law, and that "it is difficult for all disciples (arhats) and Pratyekabuddhas (those who attained enlightenment without the benefit of direct instruction from Buddha) to understand it." (63, p. 30 ff) Offended, the proud arhats in the audience, who "fancied that they had attained nirvāṇa, and had been released from the series of evils," rose and left the assembly, whereupon Buddha pronounced the following Mahāyāna dogma (63, pp. 40-42):

"By means of one vehicle, to wit, the Buddha-vehicle, Śāriputra, do I teach creatures the law; there is no second vehicle, nor a third. . . . Yet, when creatures are much tainted, full of greed and poor in roots of goodness, then, Śāriputra, the Tathāgata uses the appellation of the threefold vehicle to designate that one and sole Buddha-vehicle."

To explain why he had showed nirvāṇa and the "inferior vehicles" to those of low dispositions, Buddha of the Lotus told the famous parable of the "Burning House": Supposing a man finds his children trapped in a fire, and ignorant as they

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taken from the Japanese encyclopedia, *Nihon-hyakka-daijiten* (56). Owing to the appearance of Lévi-Chavannes' article in 1916, he had to reverse his stand on the problem of the origin of the sixteen arhats, which he had first considered Hīnayānist. Lévi and Chavannes' analysis of the basic text for the Cult of Sixteen Lohans, *Ta-a-lo-han-Nan-ti-mi-to-lo-so-shuo-fa-chu-chi* (75) is sound and stimulating and must be regarded as an authoritative work on the subject.

<sup>44</sup> The date of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* is at present placed around A.D. 200. The earliest Chinese translation was made by Dharmarakṣa in 285 (54, No. 138); standard translation was by Kumārajīva, 384-417 (54, No. 134; 77, IX, No. 262). The Sanskrit text is edited by H. Kern and B. Nanjio, St. Petersburg, 1908-1912, and translated by H. Kern (63). See also W. E. Soot-hill (64).

are, the children refuse to come out of the burning house. To induce them to escape, the man calls to the children and promises them three desirable toys: one bullock-cart, one goat-cart, and one deer-cart. But after the children have rushed out of the house for the sake of their desired toys, the man offers them all bullock-carts, which are the most magnificent of all carts. For, "being rich, he rightly thinks, why should I give these boys inferior carts, all these boys being my own children, dear and precious?" Now, "even as that man with powerful arms, without using the strength of his arms, attracts his children out of the burning house by the device [of showing three carts] . . . so, the Tathāgata, possessed of knowledge and freedom from all hesitation, without using these, in order to attract the creatures out of the triple world which is like a burning house with decayed roof and shelter, shows three vehicles, viz. the vehicle of the disciples, the vehicle of the pratyekabuddhas, and the vehicle of the bodhisattvas." (63, pp. 72-82.) Those who covet the vehicle of the disciples (arhats) are likened to the boys who desire a cart yoked with deer; similarly, the vehicle of the pratyekabuddhas is likened to the cart yoked with goats, and the great vehicle of the bodhisattvas mahāsattvas is likened to the great cart yoked with bullocks. "In the same manner, as that man, on seeing his children escaped from the burning house and knowing them safely and happily rescued and out of danger, in the consciousness of his great wealth, gives the boys one single grand cart, so, too, the Tathāgata, considering that he possesses great wealth of knowledge, power, and absence of hesitation, and that all beings are his children, leads them by no other vehicle but the Buddha-vehicle to full development. In this way, one has to understand how the Tathāgata by an expedient device shows but one vehicle, the great vehicle." (63, *loc. cit.*)

This deliberate rationalization of the differences between the rival schools was shrewdly effective. As the final statement of Śākyamuni's doctrine (of course Śākyamuni never had anything directly to do with it), the *Lotus* was able to circumvent its rivals; first, by taking credit for what they taught, and

secondly, by representing their doctrines as elementary half-truths, expedient devices of Buddha, or, in short, parts of a grand scheme made clear only by the final revelation of the "word" in that sūtra. By preaching a universal salvation for all beings, the once short-lived human Buddha has now become the omniscient eternal Godhead, Who has lived for "hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis of aeons." (63, p. 298 ff.) All previous earthly Buddhas, including Buddha Dīpaṃkara, who was the spiritual father of Śākyamuni, are only incarnations of Buddha, created for "the express view of preaching the Law." (63, p. 300.)<sup>45</sup> Accordingly, Buddha's own nirvāṇa is also an illusion made "on behalf of those who have to be educated."<sup>46</sup>

Following the formula of the older discourses, the *Lotus* opens by stating that Buddha was at the Vulture Peak with twelve hundred arhats. While old Pāli suttas normally mention the names of only two or three of the attending arhats, the *Lotus* lists nearly thirty of them.<sup>47</sup> Obviously, it was to the advantage of the Mahāyānists to have all the historical disciples of Buddha and other legendary holy men included in their all-embracing Mahāyāna pantheon. As a reward, Buddha prophesies in the *Lotus* that all great arhats like Kāśyapa, Mahākātyāyana, Maudgalyāyana, Kauṇḍinya, Ānanda, Rāhula, Vakula, and thousands of other arhats will eventually become future Buddhas. (63, chs. 6, 8, and 9.) For their part of the bargain, the arhats of the *Lotus* meekly accept the new

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<sup>45</sup> According to the introduction of the *Jātaka, Nidāna-kathā*, Gotama as the ascetic Sumedha first made his resolution to become a Buddha in front of Buddha Dīpaṃkara. The account of Buddha's previous existences is based on the *Buddhavaṃsa* and other Pāli commentaries. See *Nidāna-kathā*, tr. by Rhys Davids (55).

<sup>46</sup> "I announce final extinction, young men of good family, though myself I do not become finally extinct. For in this way, . . . I bring (all) creatures to maturity, lest creatures in whom goodness is not firmly rooted, who are unholy, miserable, eager of sensual pleasures, blind and obscured by the film of wrong views, should, by too often seeing me, take to thinking: 'The Tathāgata is staying,' and fancy that all is a child's play . . ." (63, p. 303.)

<sup>47</sup> This deliberate use of old tradition is noted by E. J. Thomas (80, p. 180 f.).

*Mahāyāna* doctrine and yield their old goal of nirvāṇa (63, pp. 200-202) :

"On hearing from the Lord the announcement of their own future destiny, [they] . . . went up to the place where the Lord was sitting, reverently saluted with their heads his feet, and spoke thus : 'We confess our fault, O Lord, in having continually and constantly persuaded ourselves that we had arrived at final nirvāṇa, as [persons who are] dull, inept, ignorant of the rules. . . . We fancied, O Lord, that [at] the stage of arhat we had reached nirvāṇa. We live in difficulty, O Lord, because we content ourselves with such a trifling degree of knowledge. But as our strong aspiration after the knowledge of the all-knowing has never ceased, the Tathāgata teaches us the right : 'Have no such idea of nirvāṇa, monks ; there are in your intelligence roots of goodness which of yore I have fully developed. . . .' And after having taught us the right in such a way, the Lord now predicts our future destiny to supreme and perfect knowledge.' "

The Indian tradition which gives Mahākāśyapa, Kuṇḍopadhāniya, Piṇḍola, and Rāhula as the "Four Great Śrāvakas (disciples)" awaiting the advent of Maitreya is found in three sūtras in the Chinese Tripiṭaka.<sup>48</sup> Following the dates of the Chinese translations of these sūtras, they are :

(1) Mahāyānistic *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa*, "Sūtra Spoken by Buddha on Coming of Maitreya in this World," translation attributed to Dharmarakṣa, between A. D. 266-316. (54, No. 208 ; 77, XIV, No. 453, p. 422b.)

(2) Hīnayānistic *Ekottara-āgama-sūtra*, XLVIII, translated by Dharmānandī, A. D. 384-385. (54, No. 543 ; 77, II, No. 125, p. 789a.)

(3) Hīnayānistic *Sāriputra-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, translator's name unknown, late fourth century. (54, No. 1152 ; 77, XXIV, No. 1465, p. 902a.)

It appears that the original *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* (1) translated by Dharmarakṣa had already been lost in the early eighth

<sup>48</sup> See footnote 39 ; also 46, p. 192 ff.

century,<sup>49</sup> and the present text under that name was a later interpolation taken directly from the *Ekottara-āgama* XLVIII (2).<sup>50</sup> Thus the sources mentioning the "Four Great *Śrāvakas*" as the guardians of the Law are strictly Hīnayānistic, namely, the *Ekottara-āgama* (2) and the *Sāriputra-sūtra* (3).

Furthermore, the *Āgama* is the Sanskrit equivalent for the Pāli *Nikāya*.<sup>51</sup> The aforesaid passage concerning the four *Śrāvakas* in the *Ekottara-āgama*, however, is nowhere to be

<sup>49</sup> There are six sūtras on Maitreya in the Chinese Tripiṭaka:

- |                               |                                  |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) [佛說] 觀彌勒菩薩上生<br>兜率 [陀] 天經 | (54, No. 204; 77, XIV, No. 452.) |
| (2) [佛說] 彌勒下生 [成佛] 經          | (54, No. 205; 77, XIV, No. 454.) |
| (3) [佛說] 彌勒來時經                | (54, No. 206; 77, XIV, No. 457.) |
| (4) [佛說] 彌勒下生成佛經              | (54, No. 207; 77, XIV, No. 455.) |
| (5) [佛說觀] 彌勒 [菩薩] 下生經         | (54, No. 208; 77, XIV, No. 453.) |
| (6) [佛說] 彌勒 [大] 成佛經           | (54, No. 209; 77, XIV, No. 456.) |

(2), (3), and (4) are translations of the same or a similar text. According to *K'ai-yüan-lu* (catalogue of 730), there were altogether six translations of the same *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* (49), but three of them had already been lost in 730.

Our problem now concerns (5), which is supposed to be a translation made by Dharmarakṣa between 266-316. According to *K'ai-yüan-lu*, however, the text was already lost in 730. A colophon at the end of *Mi-lei-hsia-shēng-ching* (5) (77, XIV, p. 423b) makes the following deduction:

"According to *K'ai-yüan-lu*, there was a translation but no text. There was a *Mi-lei-ch'êng-fo-ching* translated by Dharmarakṣa, which was also named *Mi-lei-tang-lai-hsia-shēng-ching*. Looking briefly at this sūtra (5), it seems to be the missing text that had been recovered. In reality this is not so. For, under the title of the *Mi-lei-ch'êng-fo-ching*, translated by Kumārajīva (6), there is a note saying: 'A different text from the *Hsia-shēng-ching* (also translated by Kumārajīva) (2), but stemming from the same text as the *Mi-lei-ch'êng-fo-ching* translated by Dharmarakṣa (5).' There being two translations of the same (6 and 5), one (5) is missing. It is obvious, then, that the missing text of the same title (5) is not this *Hsia-shēng-ching* . . ."

<sup>50</sup> The present so-called "*Maitreya-vyākaraṇa* translated by Dharmarakṣa" corresponds word for word to the *Ekottara-āgama* XLVIII (24) in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. See B. Matsumoto and N. Peri (51).

<sup>51</sup> See *Nanjio* (54, col. 134). For more extensive discussions of the relations between the Chinese translations of *Āgamas* and the Pāli *Nikāyas*, see following articles by M. Anesaki (4, 5, and 6); and C. Akanuma in 3.

found in the *Anguttara-nikāya*, its Pāli counterpart.<sup>52</sup> Without touching upon the controversial question of the age of the Sanskrit Canon, one may safely say that the legend of "Arhats awaiting Maitreya" was a late Sanskrit interpolation in the *Āgamas*.<sup>53</sup>

To determine the date of this legend, we may look into some internal evidence within the story. First of all, in both versions in the *Ekottara-āgama* (2) and the *Sāriputra-sūtra* (3), the idea of the "Stay" of the arhats is definitely bound in with that of the "Coming" of Maitreya. This is to say, without the anticipation of the "Coming of Maitreya," there would have been no reason for the arhats to "stay"—and, possibly, also *vice versa*. The belief in the future Buddha Maitreya arose as a part of the doctrine of a succession of Buddhas, found already in the Pāli suttas.<sup>54</sup> In later Pāli exegetical works and in early Sanskrit literature, Maitreya appears frequently.<sup>55</sup> It is said that Maitreya, being the only bodhisattva recognized in the Pāli canon, served as the bridge between the historical deities of the older schools (arhats) and the purely mythical bodhisattvas of the Mahāyānists. (80, pp. 167-170, 201.) As evidence in point, it may be noted that during the second or third century of our era, when the great Mahāyānist *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (or the *Lotus-sūtra*) was composed, Maitreya was very prominent in that sūtra.

<sup>52</sup> The existence of the *Nikāyas* can be traced back to the third century B.C. This is suggested by inscriptions published in *Epigraphia Indica* (9a, p. 93). By tradition, the Canon became "closed" when it was committed to final writing during the reign of King Vattāgamani of Ceylon (21, p. 103, and 48, p. 277). In any event, we can accept the last quarter of the first century B.C. as the lower limit for the Pāli canon (43, vol. 1, p. 11 ff.).

<sup>53</sup> See footnote 40. A good summary of the modern study of the Buddhist scriptures is given by E. J. Thomas (80, Appendix I, "The Scriptures," pp. 261-287).

<sup>54</sup> In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, Buddha mentions his predecessors by name and speaks of unnumbered Buddhas to come. There is no doubt that Sākya-muni regarded himself as one in a series of Buddhas. Maitreya (Metteyya) is mentioned in *Dīgha-nikāya* (20, III, 76, and XXVI, 25), and also in *Buddhavaṃsa*, XXVII, 19. (51; 2; 44.)

<sup>55</sup> He is found in Mahāvastu, III, 240; also in the *Lalitavistara*, the *Divyāvadāna*, and the Pāli exegesis *Anāgata-vamsa*.

In time, he was eclipsed by the latecomers, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara—a phenomenon reflected in China in the course of the Yün-kang and Lung-mên sculptures.<sup>56</sup> Secondly, the *Sāriputra-sūtra* speaks of the four *śrāvakas* in connection with a *pratirūpaka* of the true Law. During this *pratirūpaka* when the faith of the believers is weak and wavering, the resident four great arhats would help the people to prove their faith, and “according to the seriousness of the occasion, they will show the people images of Buddha and holy monks (arhats), or send a voice through the open sky, or make a light, or enter their dreams to confirm their faith.” (78, XXIV, p. 902a.) To be sure, the *Lotus* also speaks of this period of *pratirūpaka*, thereby suggesting a similar milieu.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the reference to the showing of images in the *Sāriputra-sūtra* indicates the prevalence of Buddha’s images at the time when the text was composed. This means that the *sūtra* in question cannot antedate the first century A. D., when the anthropomorphic image of Buddha first appeared.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, we may tentatively place the birth of this Hinayānistic legend of Buddha deputizing arhats around the first or second century A. D., about the same time as the Mahāyānists formu-

<sup>56</sup> Judging from the dedicatory inscription found in the Lung-mên caves, Zenryū Tsukamoto points out that the center of worship after the beginning of the sixth century shifted steadily from Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, to Maitreya, the future Buddha, and then to Amitābha, the Buddha of the Paradise (see Zenryū Tsukamoto, “Buddhism under the Northern Wei Dynasty as Seen in Cave-temples at Lung-mên.” 62, App. I, pp. 223-236; also English summary, pp. 16-17.)

<sup>57</sup> H. Kern translates this *pratirūpaka* as the “Counterfeit of the True Law”: “This counterfeit, *pratirūpaka*, of the true Law, reminds one of the counterfeit, *paṭiyāro*, produced by Ariman in opposition to the creation of Ormazd; mythologically it is the dark side of nature. That there is some connection between the Buddhistical *pratirūpaka* and the Iranian *paṭiyāro* can hardly be doubted.” (63, p. 68, n. 1, and 46, p. 194, n. 1.)

<sup>58</sup> The Gandhāra school is usually credited with the first representation of Buddha in anthropomorphic form in the first century A.D. (38, p. 95, and 61, p. 80.)

The *Sāriputra-paripṛcchā-sūtra* has been identified with the Pāli *Upatisa-pasina* which was mentioned in the edict of Aśoka (80, p. 156, n. 2). This, however, cannot be so. S. Beal has rightly restored it as a work of the Mahāsaṅghika school (29, pp. xiii-xvi).

lated their doctrines in the *Lotus*. It is understandable that, in the heat of the controversy, the Hīnayānist claim to the orthodox apostolic succession would indeed become strengthened by having Mahākāśyapa, the first apostolic successor of Buddha, as their spiritual and living leader. The Mahāyānists, on the other hand, managed to subvert this legend. In fact, their tactics were so ingenious and their success so complete, that traces of the Hīnayānist Cult of Arhats have become all but obliterated in historical writings.

Even before the fifth century A. D., a group of sixteen arhats (instead of the old Hīnayānist four great *śrāvakas*) is referred to as guardians of Mahāyānism in the *Mahāyānava-tāraka-śāstra* (54, No. 1243; 77, XXXII, No. 1634, p. 39b).<sup>59</sup> The names and abodes of these sixteen arhats are given in a work entitled "Record on the Duration of the Law, spoken by the Great arhat Nandimitra," which was translated into Chinese by the famous pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in A. D. 654.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> See pp. 26 and 36.

<sup>60</sup> Commonly known as the *Fa-chu-chi* (54, No. 1466; 77, XLIX, No. 2030, pp. 12-14). For a translation of the text and a discussion of its Mahāyānist origin, see Lévi-Chavannes (46, pp. 6 ff.). According to the *Fa-chu-chi* as spoken by arhat Nandimitra, the sixteen guardian arhats received an order from Buddha to stay in this world in order to await the future advent of Buddha Maitreya. The names of the sixteen arhats are as follows:

(1) Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja	賓度羅跋囉情闍
(2) Kanakavatsa	迦諾迦伐蹉
(3) Kanaka-Bhāradvāja	迦諾迦跋釐情闍
(4) Subinda (?)	蘇頻陀
(5) Nakula	諾矩羅
(6) Bhadra	跋陀羅
(7) Kālīka	迦理迦
(8) Vajraputra	伐闍羅弗多羅
(9) Çvapāka	戌博迦
(10) Panthaka	半託迦
(11) Rāhula	囉怛囉

The late eminent French scholars, S. Lévi and E. Chavannes, have discussed the Mahāyānist origin of this work (46, p. 24 ff). In this new list of sixteen arhats, Mahākāśyapa and Kuṇḍopadhāniya, the first and the second of the four great Hīnayānist *śrāvakas*, are not included while Piṇḍola and Rāhula, the third and the fourth of the old quartet, are listed as the first and the eleventh of the Mahāyānized guardian saints.<sup>61</sup>

The omission of Mahākāśyapa and Kuṇḍopadhāniya was of course intentional. Without mentioning the names of the other fourteen arhats, the *Mahāyānavatāraka-śāstra* cites "the venerable Piṇḍola, the venerable Rāhula, and similar great *śrāvakas* to the number of sixteen."<sup>62</sup> This shows, first of all, that the author of this *śāstra*, Sthiramati, was familiar with the older Hīnayānist group of four *śrāvakas*—for, otherwise, he would have no reason to mention Rāhula, who is the eleventh of the new Mahāyānist sixteen arhats. Secondly, though he did not mention the names of the other fourteen arhats, he was doctrinally correct in leaving out the names of Mahākāśyapa and Kuṇḍopadhāniya. This is the shrewdest part of the Mahāyānist strategy: "subversion by perversion." In appropriating the Hīnayānist legend of "Four Great *Śrāvakas*" as a part of Mahāyānism, the Mahāyānists undoubtedly found Mahākāśyapa, the leader of the Hīnayānist quartet, too "hot" to handle, for he, as the first Hīnayānist claimant to the

(12) Nāgasena

那伽犀那

(13) Īṅgada (?)

因揭陀

(14) Vanavāsi

伐那婆斯

(15) Ajita

阿氏多

(16) Cūḍa-Panthaka

注荼半託迦

See Lévi-Chavannes (46, pp. 292-293).

<sup>61</sup> Both Ōmura and Lévi-Chavannes point out that the idea of the sixteen arhats was an amplification of that of the "Four Great *Śrāvakas*," which was in turn derived from the idea of the guardians of the four quarters of the world (60, p. 3b; 46, p. 190).

<sup>62</sup> See pp. 26, 35.

apostolic succession, was the chief Hinayānist adversary. Thus, while the Hinayānist legend was being adapted, the tooth of the old legend, as it were, had to be removed. The corruption of the old content was camouflaged by the process of expanding the old list of four arhats into an improvised new list of sixteen names, and was completed, finally, by the promotion of Piṇḍola, the third of the old quartet, to the top of the new list.

It would be wrong, nonetheless, to assume that Piṇḍola was used by the Mahāyānists simply because he happened to be the third of the old quartet. The *Āśoka-rāja-sūtra* tells us that once King Āśoka invited "the monks of the four regions" to a maigre feast. Three hundred thousand *bhikṣus* including one hundred thousand arhats and two hundred thousand disciples arrived. When seated, the monks left the seat of honor unoccupied, for they had reserved that seat for the great *bhikṣu* "who had seen Buddha, and has not yet entered nirvāṇa" and whose name was Piṇḍola-Bhāradvāja. Whereupon, King Āśoka prayed to Piṇḍola, who, in turn, responded immediately by flying to the assembly "like a swan-king."<sup>63</sup>

So it appears that there was an independent Cult of Piṇḍola, which was based on two misinterpreted legends concerning this arhat. Both describing Piṇḍola's magic power, one story tells that at Rājagṛha, Piṇḍola rose into the air and took a precious sandalwood bowl off a high pole amidst a cheering crowd; the other describes how in his rush to join Buddha's party at *Śrāvastī*, he carelessly flew through the air dragging a mountain behind him, and this frightening sight caused a pregnant woman to have a miscarriage.<sup>64</sup> These stories were told in many versions in both Pāli and Sanskrit texts. In the Pāli *Vinaya* (the disciplinary books of the canon), the sandalwood bowl story is clearly set down as an offense which brought a severe rebuke from Buddha, who declared that this kind of

<sup>63</sup> *Āśoka-rāja-sūtra*, ch. III (54, No. 1343; 77, L, No. 2043, pp. 139b-140a). Also see the *Biography of King Āśoka*, ch. II (77, L, No. 2042, p. 105b), and *Samyuktāgama-sūtra*, ch. XXIII (54, No. 544; 77, II, No. 99, p. 169b).

<sup>64</sup> For a detailed discussion of Piṇḍola and his legends, see Lévi-Chavannes (46, p. 205 ff.).

improper demonstration of miraculous powers “will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted; but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.” (39, pp. 78-81.) In the Sanskrit *Sarvāstivādi-vinaya*, for the same crime, Piṇḍola was expelled from Jambudvīpa.<sup>65</sup> The story of Piṇḍola and the mountain has a similar ending. In a Chinese translation, entitled *Fo-shuo-san-mo-chieh-ching* (29a), after the flying mountain episode, Buddha was greatly annoyed and told Piṇḍola: “From now on, you will not be allowed to eat with me or be together with the monks. You will stay in this world. You will have to wait until Maitreya appears in this world, and then you may enter nirvāṇa.” (77, II, No. 129, p. 845a)<sup>66</sup>

The tone of Buddha's sentence in these early disciplinary books was clear and final. Piṇḍola was the careless and extravagant disciple, who was excommunicated and excluded from nirvāṇa (the ultimate state of bliss of the early Buddhists), and condemned to live in this suffering world until the very day of the coming of the Future Buddha. Ironically, this longest “life sentence” in history took on a new meaning, and made Piṇḍola, the sinner who was never to escape from the everlasting toils of life, into the eternally living saint “who had seen Buddha and has not yet entered nirvāṇa.” Thus Piṇḍola's misdeeds led to his glory, and from being reprimanded he came to be worshiped. The tenor for the worship of Piṇḍola was set in the early Sanskrit *Avandānas*, where the old tales in the *Vinaya*, originally illustrating the occasions which led to the formulation of *vinaya* rules, were made into heroic feats of the early Buddhists. (80, p. 279.) In the

<sup>65</sup> *Sarvāstivādi-vinaya*, ch. XXXVII (54, No. 1115; 77, XXIII, No. 1435, p. 269a).

<sup>66</sup> This sūtra is an early translation of the *Ekottara-āgama* XXX, 3, the chapter on Suda, where the story of Buddha's accepting the invitation of Sumati (the daughter of Anāthapindada) is recorded (54, No. 616, line 151). In the full Chinese translation of the *Ekottara-āgama* (54, No. 543; 77, II, No. 125), however, the story is omitted in its corresponding chapter (77, II, pp. 660a-665b).

*Divyāvandāna* as in the *Aśoka-rāja-sūtra* quoted above, we find the story which tells that the old arhat Piṇḍola with long white eyebrows flew swanlike to King Aśoka's assembly (*Divyāvandāna*, XXVII, p. 400; see 46, p. 259). In *Ekottara-āgama* IV, he is cited as the one who "suppresses heresy and walks in accordance with the *Saddharma*." (77, II, No. 125, p. 577b.) By means of the same story of the sandalwood bowl, the commentator of this chapter explains that the bowl was placed on the pole by a heretic who challenged the powers of the Buddhists, and Piṇḍola, in taking down the bowl, conquered the heretic, and was thus called "the first in suppressing the heretics."<sup>67</sup> Finally, in the *Sūtra on Inviting Piṇḍola*, we find that Piṇḍola's destined stay in this world actually carried a mission which is to "produce a field of felicity for the four classes of being towards the end of the world." (77, XXXII, No. 1689, p. 784b.)<sup>68</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Guṇanirdeśa* (?)—*śāstra*, IV (a commentary on the first and fourth chapters of the *Ekottara-āgama*, Chinese translation between A.D. 25-220). (54, No. 1290; 77, XXV, No. 1507, p. 43b.)

<sup>68</sup> The *Sūtra on Inviting Piṇḍola* (54, No. 1348) gives ceremonial rules for the ritual of inviting Piṇḍola to a bath and then to a maigre feast. For a translation of the text see 46, pp. 215-220.

The holy abbot and preacher of the fourth century, Tao-an, (died A.D. 385) was believed to have met the "long-eyebrowed monk," Piṇḍola, in person (28, ch. XVIII; 77, LIII, No. 2122, p. 418a).

Following the Chinese translation of this sūtra in 457 (77, XXXII, No. 1689, p. 784), the worship of Piṇḍola flourished in China. Tao-hsüan, the *Vinaya* doctor of the seventh century, was known to have received personal instruction from Piṇḍola in matters of *Vinaya* doctrine through communications in dreams (74, ch. XIV, *ibid.*, p. 791a). In the twelfth moon of the fourth year of the reign Ta-li (770), the "long-eyebrowed monk," Piṇḍola, the lohan who never dies and the leader of the sixteen guardian saints recorded in the *Fa-chu-chi*, received the highest Imperial tribute, when his images along with those of Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī were ordered to be placed in all refectories of the temples throughout the Empire (*Chen-yüan-hsin-ting-shih-chiao-mu-lu*, XVI, in 77, LV, No. 2157, p. 887c). When the Japanese pilgrim Ennin traveled in China in 840, he was surprised that this rule had an exception in the Wu-t'ai monasteries, where the images of their chief deity, Mañjuśrī, alone adorned the dining halls (26, p. 227).

The theologians of this period became very aware of the "living presence" of Piṇḍola. In the chapter "The *Pratyaya* (concurrent events) of the Holy Monks" of the *Chu-ching-yao-chi* (16), Tao-shih admonishes the worshipers of lohans in their practices: "[After the offerings are made to the holy monks],

It was in such a religious environment that Piṇḍola, the famous (or infamous) arhat who never dies, was successfully promoted by the Mahāyānist theologians to become the head of a group of sixteen less prominent arhats. As a result, the older legend of the "Four Great *Śrāvakas*," guardian saints of Hīnayānism, was smoothly obliterated.

From the very beginning of Buddhism in China, the Chinese with their traditional syncretism had readily accepted various schools of Indian Buddhism as different techniques of one great doctrine. An official Chinese account of Buddhism of the late sixth century shows a thorough indoctrination in the precepts of the *Lotus* (89, *chih* XX, fol. 3v.; 87, pp. 115-116):

"At the beginning stage of sainthood, there are three classes of people, each differing in their roots of goodness. These are called the "Three Vehicles": the *Śrāvaka* (arhat) Vehicle, the Pratyekabuddha Vehicle, and the Great Vehicle. . . The ones with lower roots [of intelligence] study the "Little Vehicle," and they follow the *catvāri-ārya-satyāni*; the ones with middle roots [of intelligence] study the "Middle Ve-

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even if there were money left [in the collection made for the holy monks], the money should not be used for other monks in the temple. Nor should this money be used for the worship of Buddha. Nor should it be spent on making extra images of the holy monks. I have often seen people, who collect donations in the name of the holy monks, then [use the money to] paint colorful images of Buddha, and on the four walls, portraits of holy monks Kāśyapa and Ānanda, and others. Now, the holy one, the lohan Piṇḍola, has not entered nirvāṇa. Without special instruction from this holy monk, how can one spend arbitrarily on items other than [preparing for offerings]?"

It is interesting to note that the Chinese still remembered the Hīnayānist origin of the lohans, and distinguished them carefully from the Mahāyānist beings. Tao-shih, in the same work quoted above, writes that "the seats [prepared for the holy monks] should not be adorned with colorful silks, brocades, gold and silver, and other ornaments; nor should they be sprinkled with flowers. Because, even though they are lohans, they are still bound to the two-hundred-fifty monkish commandments like all the ordinary monks. That is why they cannot receive any ornate or gold and silver gifts. As for Buddhas and bodhisattvas, beings of Mahāyāna, who are not restricted by monastic rules, they will be able to receive every kind of offerings" (77, LIV, p. 43a-b). Note that this is a direct contradiction to the Indian rules set down in the *Sūtra on Inviting Piṇḍola*, where it is specified that flowers should be sprinkled on the prepared seat so that the worshiper may know whether the arhat has accepted the invitation by examining the seat (77, XXXII, p. 784b).

hicle," and they accept the *dvādaśāṅga-pratītyasamutpāda*; the ones with the highest roots [of intelligence] study the "Great Vehicle," and they practise the six *pāramitās* that ferry the beings beyond the sea of mortality. Although by three different vehicles, as long as they all cultivate ten thousand good things, help to ferry a million kinds of creatures, and experience this long voyage, they will all attain the stage of Buddhahood."

The *Lotus* had served as one of the primary textual inspirations for Chinese Buddhist devotional images. (18, pp. 14 and 25 ff.; 62, p. 178 ff.)<sup>69</sup> The grandiose concept of the "One Vehicle" of the *Lotus*, was expressed in the greatest single religious icon in the Far Eastern World, a five-figured image which shows the Buddha in the center flanked by two lohans and two bodhisattvas.<sup>70</sup> This image, functioning as it were in the capacity of both the Byzantine Deësis group and the Apocalyptic vision of Christ, appears as the central group of most Far Eastern devotional images and the hieratic representations of Buddhist Paradises. (31, pp. 52-53.)<sup>71</sup>

The appearance of this five-figured image is emblematic of the maturity of Chinese Buddhism. In their study of the Lung-mên sculptures, Mizuno and Nagahiro find that the quintet group appeared first in the years of the reign Yung-p'ing of the Northern Wei dynasty (commencing A. D. 508), and predominated thereafter. (62, p. 136.) Before that date as in all sculptures of Yün-kang, the central Buddha as a rule was attended only by two bodhisattvas—an arrangement derived

<sup>69</sup> Among the extant monuments, the earliest representation of the Śākyamuni-Prabhutaratna group, symbolic of the *Lotus*, is mentioned by Ōmura (68, p. 174) as bearing a date of A.D. 410.

<sup>70</sup> A classical representation of this five-figured image is the sculptured group known as the Colossi of Fêng-hsien-szū (69, text, pt. 2, p. 91; for reproductions, see 10, Nos. 351, 352, 353, 355, and 356).

<sup>71</sup> For an abbreviated version of the quintet group, we may turn to M. A. Stein (72, pl. 7), where we see a subsidiary triad showing a Buddha flanked by a bodhisattva on the left and a lohan on the right. This reminds us of the Deësis group in the Last Judgment representation, where Christ is flanked by two intercessors, Mary on the left and John the Baptist on the right.

from Indian prototypes.<sup>72</sup> Thus the quintet group was characteristically Chinese.<sup>73</sup> Adhering to the Mahāyāna theology, the Buddha was represented as the Lord of One Vehicle, which comprised both the Vehicle of the Lohans and that of the bodhisattvas.<sup>74</sup> In order that the Mahāyānists could preach their ideal of universal salvation according to the principle of "each according to his ability," the old metaphysical peace of nirvāṇa was replaced by the material reward of an everlasting, happy afterlife in a paradise which, for all practical purposes, was to be gained entirely through faith and divine grace.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> The prototype of this triad in Indian art shows Buddha or the symbol of Buddha attended by two guardian *yakṣas* (17, p. 304).

The fourth century Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hsien, in his travel record *Fo-kuo-chi*, describes a religious procession of the Great Vehicle with "the [central] figure placed in the car with two bodhisattvas as companions" (37, vol. 1, p. xxvi, and the corresponding passage in H. Giles).

<sup>73</sup> According to *Shao-lin-szū-shen-wang-shih-tzū-chi*, Li Ya, in the reign Yung-p'ing (commencing 508), created a group of statues of Buddha, two bodhisattvas and two disciples, Kāśyapa and Ānanda, for the P'u-kuang Hall of the Shao-lin-szū (60, p. 210).

Note that the quintet group appeared during the same period at Lung-mên (62, p. 136).

<sup>74</sup> An even more literal illustration of the *Lotus* doctrine of "One Vehicle comprising the Three Vehicles" is found in the septet group of one central Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas, two Pratyekabuddhas (usually wearing snail-shaped conical caps), and two lohans. In a stele in the Freer Gallery of Art, No. 23.14, we find the regular quintet on the top of the stone, and this seven-figured group in the middle. For early examples of the septet group, see 52, p. 38, n. 1, and 18, p. 55.

<sup>75</sup> On "faith rather than good works," the following passages from the *Lotus* may be cited:

"The young man or young lady of good family . . . who after filling this whole triple world with the seven precious substances . . . does not produce so much pious merit as a young man or a young lady of good family who shall keep, were it but a single verse from this Dharmaparyāpa of the Lotus of the True Law" (63, p. 386).

"Any female . . . who in the last five hundred years of the millennium shall hear and penetrate this chapter of the Ancient Devotion of Bhaiṣajyarāja, will after disappearing from earth be reborn in the world Sukhāvati, where the Lord Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, dwells, surrounded by a host of bodhisattvas" (63, p. 389).

"Those who shall write this sūtra, O Lord, and comprehend it, shall, when they disappear from this world, after having written it, be reborn in the company of the gods of paradise, and at that birth shall eighty-four thousand heavenly nymphs immediately come near them" (63, p. 436).

This was the basis of the easy, sweeping victory of Shantao's "Pure Land," or "short-cut" school, toward the end of the seventh century.<sup>76</sup> Along with the doctrine of "Salvation by Grace," there came about a vigorous cult of protective deities. Avalokiteśvara, Buddha Amitābha's lieutenant in the "Extreme Happy Land" of the Sukhāvati Paradise, ruled with compassion and benevolence as the supreme God of Mercy, and the grand intercessor for all the sinners.<sup>77</sup> It was through this same need for protective saints (or guardian angels) that the Cult of Lohans had come into full glory in the persecution- and bandit-ridden late T'ang Empire, in the late ninth century of the Christian era.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See dedicatory inscriptions at Lung-mên (62, p. 247 ff.; also 31, pp. 48-61).

<sup>77</sup> The attending bodhisattvas in Amitābha's Sukhāvati Paradise are Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāma (see the three "Pure Land" sūtras in 77, XII, Nos. 363-365; all three texts have been translated by Max Müller and J. Takakusu (9)).

The *Lotus* also devotes a whole chapter to the powers and transformations of Avalokiteśvara, in which it is said that those who invoke the name of the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara will be delivered from every kind of suffering.

At Lung-mên there are 160 dedications to Avalokiteśvara of between A.D. 500 and 700. The number is second only to the 198 dedications to Amitābha during the same period of years (62, p. 449, chart 3).

<sup>78</sup> Despite the existence of images of sixteen lohans in the north at a relatively early date (Ōmura mentions a set of sixteen statues dated in the early 740's; see 68, p. 449), the Cult of Lohans, which developed and spread from the southern coastal province of Ch'ē-chiang, did not gain momentum until the end of the ninth century. During the great persecution of A.D. 841-845, Buddhist monasteries in northern provinces were severely damaged, while the southern Buddhist centers, owing to their physical distance from the imperial capital and the protection given them by sympathetic local rulers, were more or less spared. It was no mere coincidence that after the persecution, the Cult of Lohans flourished alongside with Ch'an Buddhism, since they were both relatively free from the sumptuous as well as cumbersome architectural decorations, rituals, or even scriptures, which were so essential to the more formal sects of Buddhism. (See above, p. 24.) The relationship between the Cult of Lohans and Ch'an will be discussed in a future article, *The Problem of Kuan-hsiu's Sixteen Lohans*.



LIST OF CHINESE, JAPANESE, AND SANSKRIT NAMES  
AND TERMS IN CHINESE CHARACTERS

- Akanuma, C. 赤沼智善  
 Amitābha 阿彌陀佛  
 Amoghavajra 不空  
 An-hui 安徽  
 Ānanda 阿難  
 Anesaki Masaharu 姉崎正治  
 arhat (*See* lohan)  
*Aśoka-rāja-sūtra* 阿育王經  
*Avadāna* 譬喻經  
 Avalokiteśvara 觀世音  
 Bodhisattva 菩薩  
 Buddha 佛  
 Buddhavanagiri 佛陀伐那山  
*catvāri-ārya-satyāni* 四諦  
 Ch'an-yüeh (Kuan-hsiu) 禪月(貫休)  
 Chē-chiang 浙江  
 Ch'ên, K. S. 陳觀勝  
 Chi-shou 箕首  
 Chiang-nan 江南  
 Ch'ien Liu 錢鏐  
*chih* 志  
 Chih-k'ai (or Chih-i) 智顗  
 Chin 晉  
 Ch'in 秦  
*Ch'in-hsien-chih* 鄞縣志  
 Ch'ing-shan-szū 青山寺  
 Ching-chiao 淨覺  
 Ching-yu 景佑  
 Chiu-hua 九華  
 Chiu, K. M. 裘開明  
 Chou 周  
 Chu-tz'ü 具茨  
*chung-yüan* 中元  
 Dharmanandi 法喜  
 Dharmarakṣa 法護  
 Dipaṃkara 定光佛(然燈佛)

dvādaśāṅga-pratityasamutpāda 十二因緣

Ē-meī 峨嵋

Fang-chang 方丈

fang-wai-jēn 方外人

Fēng-hsien-szū 奉先寺

Fo-kuo-szū 佛國寺

Fo-shuo-hsien-tsai-ching 佛說現在經

Fu-t'ien-szū 福田寺

Genkō-shakusho 元亨釋書實

Hang-chou 杭州

Hēng-shan 恆山

Hinayāna 小乘

Ho-nan 河南

hsing-yün-liu-shui-miao 行雲流水描

Hsü Yu 許由

Hsüan-tsang 玄奘

Hsüan Yüan 軒轅

Hua-shan 華山

Huo-shan 霍山

Jambudvīpa 閻浮提

Jataka 閻陀伽(本生經)

Jēn-hsien 仁顯

Jēn-tsung 仁宗

K'ai-yüan-lu 開元錄

Kaundinya 憍陳如

koṭi 拘胝

Kṣitigarbha 地藏

Ku Chu 孤竹

Ku Yung-chih 顧泳之

Kuan-hsiu (Ch'an-yüeh) 貫休(禪月)

Kuang Ch'eng 廣成

Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什

Kuṇḍopadhāniya 君屠鉢漢

K'ung 孔

K'ung-t'ung 空峒

Kuo Hsi 郭熙

li 里

Li Lung-mien 李龍眠

Li Shan 李善

Li Ya 李雅

lohan 羅漢(arhat, rakan)

- Lo-han-li-tsan-wên* 羅漢禮贊文  
*Lo-han-yüan* 羅漢院  
*Lung-mên* 龍門  
*Mahākāśyapa* 大迦葉  
*Mahākātyāyana* 大迦旃延  
*Mahāsattva* 大士  
*Mahāsthāma* 大勢至  
*Mahāyāna* 大乘  
*Mañjuśrī* 文殊  
*Māra* 魔  
*Mathurā* 秣菟羅  
*Maudgalyāyana* 目[犍]連  
*Mi-lei-ch'êng-fo-ching* 彌勒成佛經  
*Mi-lei-tang-lai-hsia-shêng-ching* 彌勒當來下生經  
*Miao-ku* 藐姑  
*mîng* 明  
*Nandimitra* 難提密多羅  
*Ning-p'ô* 寧波  
*pāramitā* 度(波羅密多)  
*parinirvāṇa* 般涅槃  
*P'êng-lai* 蓬萊  
*Piṇḍola* 賓頭盧  
*Po-na-pên* 百衲本  
*Prabhūtaratna* 多寶佛  
*pratirūpaka* 像教  
*pratyaya* 緣  
*Pratyekabuddha* 緣覺(羣支佛)  
*P'u An* 普安  
*P'u-kuang Hall* 普光殿  
*P'u-t'ô* 普陀  
*Rāhula* 羅云  
*Rājagṛha* 王舍城  
*rakan* (*See lohan*)  
*saddharma* 妙法  
*Sākyamuni* 釋迦牟尼  
*samādhi* 三昧地  
*Samantabhadra* 普賢  
*Saṃyuktāgama-sūtra* 雜阿含經  
*Sāriputra* 舍利弗  
*Sarvāstivādi-vinaya* 十誦律  
*Sei-kyō* 成卿  
*Senyūji* 泉涌寺

- Shan-hsi 山西  
 Shan-tao 善導  
 Shao-lin 少林  
 Shao-lin-szū-shen-wang-shih-tzū-chi 少林寺神王師子記  
 shen-sēng 神僧  
 Shih-chi 史記  
 Shou-ch'ang-szū 壽昌寺  
 Shunshō 俊菴  
 śrāmaṇera 沙彌  
 śrāvaka 聲聞  
 Śrāvastī 舍衛國  
 stūpa 塔(卒塔波)  
 Sukhāvati 極樂世界  
 Sung 宋  
 Sung-shan 嵩山  
 sūtra 經  
 Sūtra on Inviting Piṇḍola 清賓頭盧經  
 Szū-ch'uan 四川  
 Szū-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷  
 Szū-ming 四明  
 Szū-pu-peī-yao 四部備要  
 Szū-pu-ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊  
 Ta K'uai 大隗  
 Ta-li 大曆  
 Ta-mēng 大蒙  
 T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo 太平興國  
 T'ai-shan 泰山  
 T'ai-tsu 太祖  
 T'ai-yüan 太元  
 T'an-yu 曇猷  
 T'ang 唐  
 Tao-an 道安  
 Tao-hsüan 道宣  
 Tao-shih 道世  
 T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明  
 Tathāgata 如來  
 tē-tao-chē 得道者  
 T'ien-ch'ī 天啓  
 T'ien-yu 天祐  
 Ts'ao Chung-ta 曹仲達  
 Ts'ao Pu-hsing 曹不興  
 Tsukamoto Senryū 塚本善隆

Tsung Ping 宗炳  
Tun-huang 敦煌  
Tung-ch'ien-hu 東錢湖  
Vakula 薄矩羅  
Veñuvana 竹園  
Vinaya 律  
Wan-nien-szū 萬年寺  
Wang Ch'iao 王喬  
Wang, H. C. 王信忠  
*Wang-shih-shu-hua-yüan* 王氏書畫苑  
Wang Wei 王維  
Wei 魏  
Wu Chien 吳棟  
Wu-ling 武陵  
Wu-t'ai-shan 五台山  
Wu Tao-tzū 吳道子  
Wu Tung 吳棟  
Yang Lien-sheng 楊聯陞  
Yao 堯  
*ying-chên* 應真  
Yue, Zenvair 于銳宇  
Yün-kang 雲岡  
Yung-hsi 永熙  
Yung-p'ing 永平



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PLATES 1 — 18

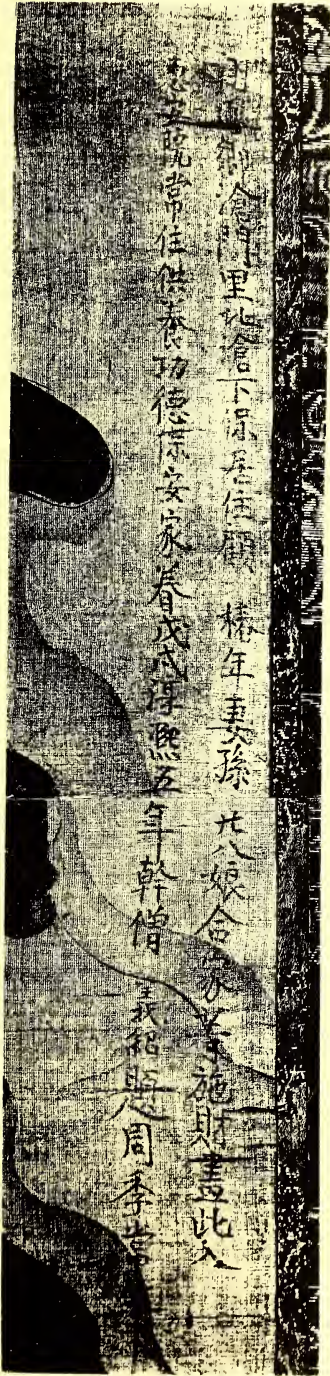




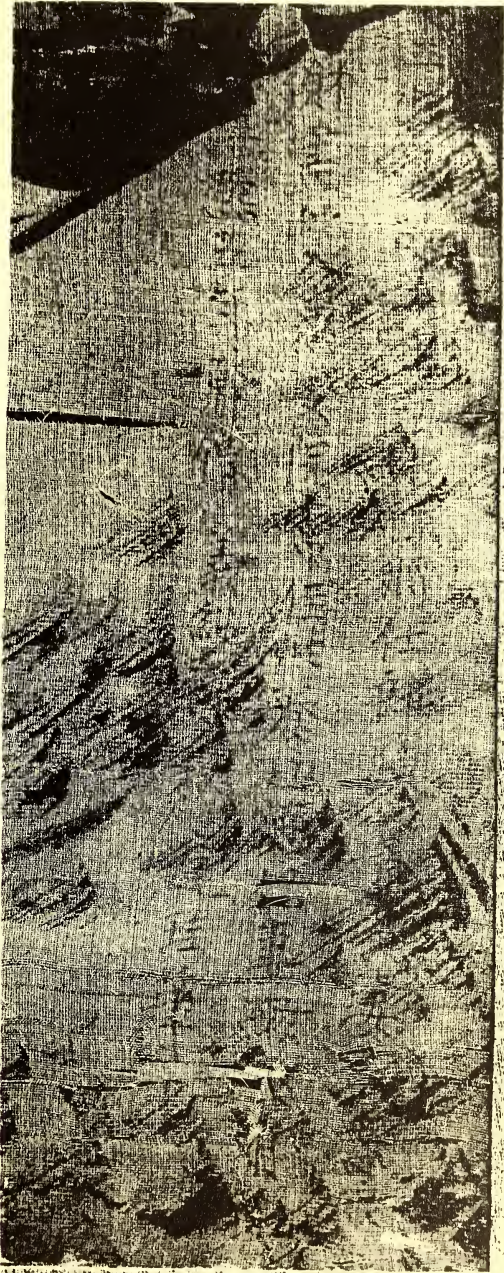
Chou Chi-ch'ang, *Miracle at the Rock-Bridge of the T'ien-fai-shan*, dated 1178. Silk panel, 1.094 x .524. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 07.139



Lin Ting-kuei, *Lohans Laundering*, dated 1178. Silk panel, 1.118  
x .531. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 02.224



Inscription along the right border of plate 1



Inscription in the lower right corner of plate 2



Morimoto Kōchō, first copy after plate 1, the *Rock-Bridge* by Chou, dated 1888. Reproduced from *Go-hyaku-rakan-chō*, fig. 39



Morimoto Kōchō, first copy after plate 2, the *Lohans Laundering* by Lin, dated 1388. Reproduced from *Go-hyaku-rakan-chō*, fig. 7



Morimoto Kōchō, copy after plate 4, his first copy of the *Rock-Bridge* by Chou, dated 1897. Courtesy of the Daitokuji, Kyōto



Morimoto Kōchō, copy after plate 5, his first copy of the *Lohans Laundering* by Lin, dated 1897. Courtesy of the Daitokuji, Kyōto

洛北紫野大德寺五百羅漢百幅稀世寶畫也贈與南於外國  
外人買其三幅而八大幅有故復歸寺議更款保存之余惜  
其國故社年兩歸摸複以寄附焉是其一也

明治辛酉夏日

桃花坊杜成卿



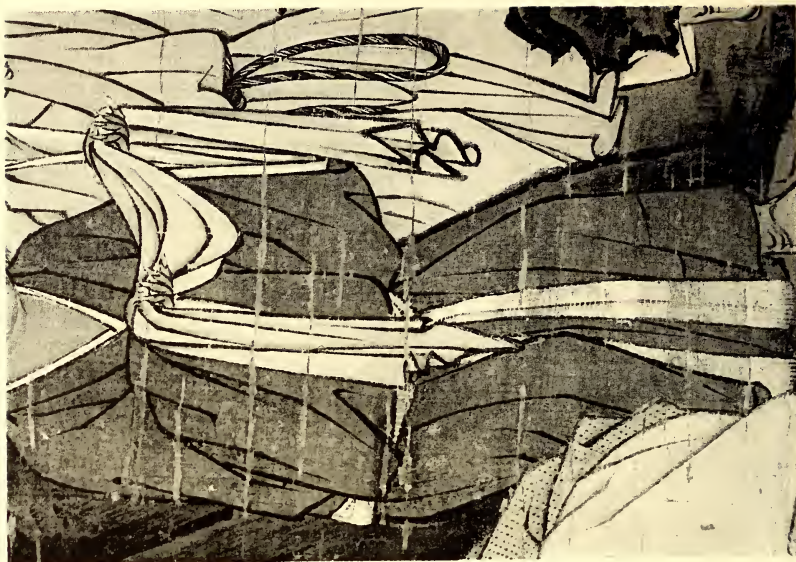
Inscription on plate 6



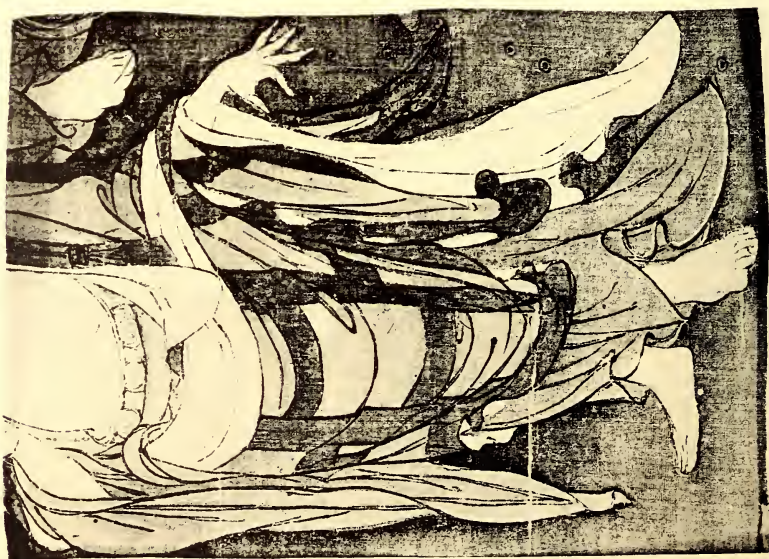
Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of rock.  
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts,  
Boston



Lin T'ing-kuei, detail of rock. Courtesy of  
the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



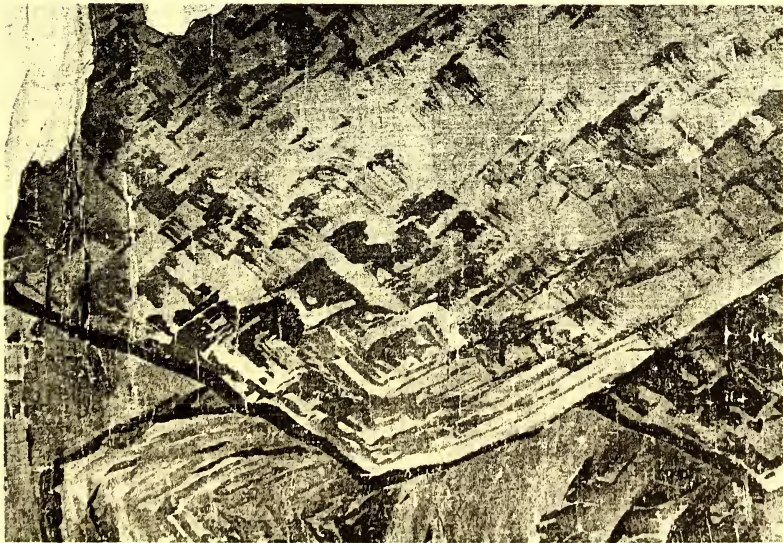
Lin Ting-kuei, detail of drapery from plate 2



Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of drapery. Courtesy of the  
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Lin Ting-kuei, detail of cliff from plate 2



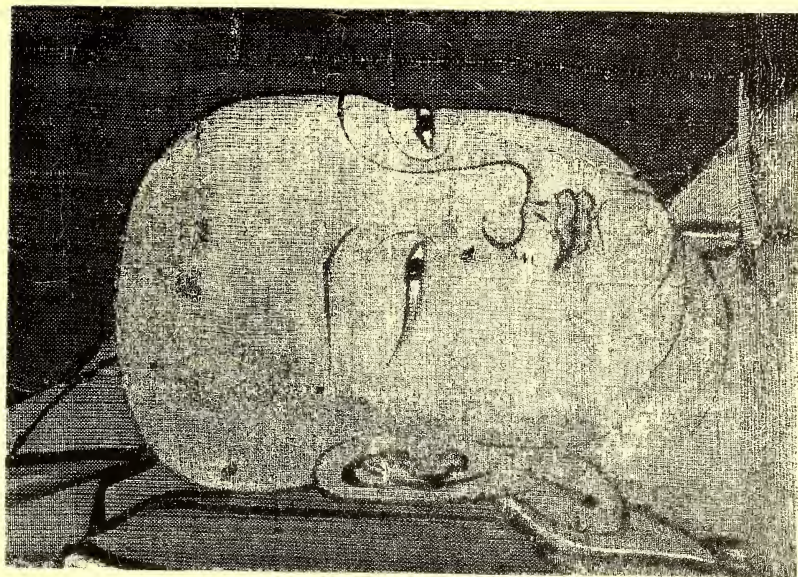
Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of cliff from plate 1



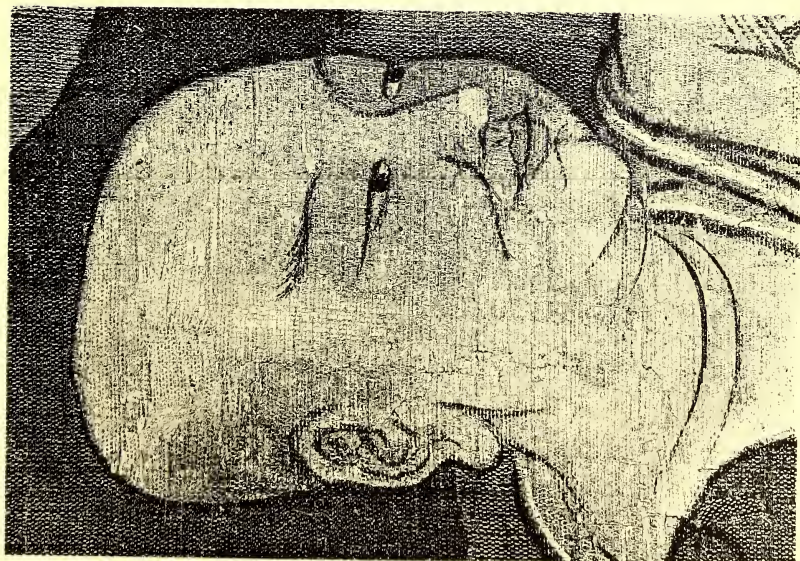
Lin T'ing-kuei, detail of wavy drapery. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of wavy drapery. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Lin T'ing-kuei, detail of head, three-quarter view.  
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of head, three-quarter view.  
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Lin T'ing-kuei, detail of head, frontal. Courtesy of the Daiokuji, Kyōto



Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of head, frontal. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Lin T'ing-kuei, detail of head, uplifted.  
Courtesy of the Daitokuji, Kyōto



Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of head, uplifted. Courtesy  
of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Lin T'ing-kuei, detail of head, profile. Courtesy of the Daitokuji, Kyôto



Chou Chi-ch'ang, detail of head, profile. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Lin T'ing-kuei, *Lohans Washing Their Feet*. Courtesy of the  
Daitokuji, Kyōto



The Rock-Bridge at the T'ien-t'ai-shan. Reproduced from Tokiwa-Sekino, *Buddhist Monuments in China*, pt. IV, pl. 66.

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THE LOHANS AND A BRIDGE TO HEAVEN. By WEN FONG. Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, III, 1. 64 pp. + 18 pls. Washington, 1958.

This is a detailed study of two Chinese hanging scrolls in the Freer Gallery, identified by the author in 1954 as belonging to a famous Sung Dynasty set of 100 scrolls depicting the Five Hundred Lohans and preserved in the Daitoku temple in Kyōto.

In 1894, when the temple was in need of repair, forty-four of the set were sent to an Exhibition at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Ten of the scrolls, selected by E. F. Fenellosa, then Curator of Japanese Art at Boston, were bought by the Museum, and the remainder returned to Kyōto. About the same time two other scrolls were sold to unidentified foreigners and lost sight of, but the transactions are recorded by inscriptions, dated 1897, on twelve copies made in Japan and donated to the temple to make good the loss.

Each of the Freer Gallery scrolls carried a long dedicatory inscription in gold. The gold had fallen off through wear, but the characters were made visible under ultra-violet light, and showed that the paintings were commissioned as a gift to the Hui-an temple, in Chê-chiang Province, in 1178. The subjects are "The Miracle at the Rock Bridge", by Chou Chi-ch'ang, and "Lohans Laundering their Clothes", by Lin T'ing-kuei.

The present paper, recording this important discovery and a scholarly piece of research in Chinese Buddhist painting, is a prelude to a monograph which Dr. Fong is preparing on the whole series of 100 paintings. Its scope is confined to a stylistic comparison of the two painters of the Freer scrolls with each other and with the Japanese copyist, an account of the rock bridge at the T'ien-t'ai Mountain and the legend associated with it, and an interesting addendum on the cult of the Lohans in Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is a valuable addition to the literature of the subject, and the larger work will be awaited with keen anticipation.

S. HOWARD HANSFORD.

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